

Duquesne University:



FOOTPRINTS OF THE ANCIENT SCOTTISH CHURCH

P₂₁

BY

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PREFACE

IN this volume have been gathered together many facts relating to the ancient religion which once held exclusive sway in Scotland, as in so many other countries of Christian Europe. They have been gleaned from various sources, some of them not easily accessible to the ordinary reader, and others not generally attractive to any but antiquarians.

The information conveyed under different headings will—it is hoped—prove interesting to others besides Catholic readers. They serve to trace the footprints left by the Church of old on the shifting sands of time—footprints so faint, indeed, in many instances, as to be already well-nigh effaced. This book may help to preserve their outlines.

Other divisions of the subject, in addition to those here noted, will doubtless occur to mind; monasteries and parish churches are two of them. Yet neither is available in the present instance; the former has too vast a scope; the latter shows a dearth of existing records in too many cases.

The headings adopted: Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches, Hospitals, Fairs, Holy Wells, Honours paid to the Blessed Virgin Mary—although they do not exhaust the subject of Catholic archæology—are sufficiently comprehensive for the purpose in view.

While admitting his indebtedness to the authorities mentioned in the subjoined list, the writer is able to add that he has had opportunities of corroborating in many instances, by personal investigation of the sites referred to, the information obtained from the works quoted.

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I. CATHEDRALS

THE contrast, apparent at the present day, between the condition of the Scottish cathedrals and those of England illustrates the difference in the spirit which animated the leaders of the Reformation in the two kingdoms. England retained episcopacy and the ancient buildings connected with it; for Henry VIII, though he broke loose from Rome, changed no doctrine except that of the Pope's supremacy, and those who completed his work, amid much havoc of tenets and practices, left some outward semblance of the old order. Scotland, on the other hand, became rigidly Presbyterian, and rejected everything pertaining to prelacy, ceremonial or beauty of surroundings, in public worship. Hence it has come to pass that while in the southern kingdom the ancient buildings still stand in much of their original beauty—silent witnesses indeed to the faith for which they were reared—in Scotland it is far otherwise. Out of the thirteen cathedrals which were once the glory of Scottish Catholics, only one remains in its entirety; as to the others, where puritanical fury has not utterly destroyed them, considerable portions, at least, have perished through persistent neglect and the ravages of time. Yet even in their ruins they give evidence of the beauty and glory which once were theirs, while the noteworthy facts of history which cling to their

desecrated ruins render them still more attractive to the student of antiquity—whether Catholic or Protestant.

It is not the purport of these pages to give a complete history of each of these venerable temples; as to some of them it would be impossible, for both buildings and records have all but entirely vanished. Still enough can be gleaned about all to make interesting reading. The fragments of their buildings still remaining, the patient research of antiquaries and the testimony of historical documents enable us to reconstruct to some extent the old Scottish cathedrals and to tell something of their story, and that is all that will be attempted here.

ST ANDREWS

The first in importance, because of its connection with the primatial see, was the Cathedral of St Andrews, in Fifeshire. The ecclesiastical supremacy of the see as well as its name rested on the presence there of considerable relics of St Andrew the Apostle, who became recognised in succeeding ages as a primary patron of the whole country. Much that was long cherished as to the history of these relics is now regarded as legendary. The labours of critical enquirers have brought about the discarding of long accepted traditions as contradictory to historical facts and fixed dates, yet the possession of such relics by the city has never been denied. The early legends relate that a certain Abbot Regulus, or Rule, who lived in the fourth century, when engaged in his duties as custodian of the shrine of the apostle at Patras in Achaia, received a divine command to

convey certain of the relics to a country 'towards the ends of the earth,' and having set sail with them, in company with many fellow-voyagers, was wrecked at the spot where St Andrews now stands and where the king, Ungus, built a church for the sacred treasure. That a St Rule lived at St Andrews is undoubted; a cave by the seashore bears his name and the earlier church was dedicated to him; but that he brought the relics there from the East at that early date is now called in question. Dr Skene, a former Historiographer Royal, after a thorough discussion of the subject, inclines to the opinion that St Rule was an Irish monk of the eighth century, and that the relics were brought to St Andrews from the Cathedral of Hexham at about that date, but by another hand.¹

With the early Bishops of St Andrews it is unnecessary to concern ourselves here; the episcopate of Bishop Robert (1128-1159) introduces us to the commencement of the buildings whose remains are still extant. That prelate had formerly been prior of the Austin Canons of Scone, and when raised to the bishopric resolved to establish a community of those canons in connection with his cathedral. To house them he made some commencement of the priory buildings and seems at the same time to have erected the tiny little church of St Rule² in connection with the tall square tower, over 100 feet high, which, according to certain authorities, existed previous to his time. Some, indeed, have thought the

¹ For the entire treatment of the matter the reader is referred to Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. II., pp. 261-277.

² Robertson, *Abbeys and Cathedrals*.

whole building anterior to Bishop Robert.¹ Though standing about a hundred feet to the southeast of the later erection, St Rule's may be regarded as belonging to the cathedral group, and although earlier in date, has survived the other buildings by reason of the strength and solidity of its construction.

The commencement of the cathedral proper was the work of Arnold, Robert's successor in the see. He had been Abbot of Kelso, one of the most ornate of the Benedictine houses, and was accustomed to the stately grandeur of that noble pile, so worthy of the sacred rites carried on therein with such solemn dignity. Instead of enlarging St Rule's, Arnold began an entirely new structure towards the north-west of the old church. It took 160 years to complete this 'new' or 'great church,' as it got to be called, and the works went on under eleven successive prelates. In most of the mediæval churches the building began at the east end, and the sanctuary and choir were the first portions to be completed, in order that the sacred rites might as soon as possible be celebrated. The remainder of the structure would be carried on by degrees towards the west end. It is to this gradual process that so many of the ancient churches owe the variety of style often to be seen in their component parts; each portion as it proceeded became stamped with the particular style which prevailed at the time or which was preferred by those who directed the works. Evidence of this is to be found in St Andrews, as will be seen later.

The choir, at least, was finished before 1233; for

¹ Lang, p. 34 (note).

Bishop Malvoisin, who died in that year, was laid to rest, as Wyntoun relates, 'in the new Kyrk.' Bishop William Wishart, in his episcopate of less than eight years, built the nave almost entirely, defraying the whole expense out of his revenues.² He died in 1279. It was not until 1318 that the finished building was ready for consecration; in that year Bishop William de Lamberton solemnly dedicated the cathedral in presence of King Robert Bruce—seven bishops and fifteen abbots taking part in the function.³ The king on this occasion endowed the new erection with a yearly revenue of a hundred marks in gratitude for the victory of Bannockburn.

Although the ascertained measurements make it at most some 385 feet in length and 62 in breadth, yet the most extraordinary statements have been made at various times as to the size of the church when completed. Lockhart, in his *Life of Scott*, says: 'I believe there is no doubt that the metropolitan Cathedral of St Andrews had been the longest in Europe.'⁴ He quotes as his authority the old Scottish writer Volusene or Wilson. Another author goes more into detail; Slezer, in his *Theatrum Scotiæ*, calls it the largest in Christendom and gives its dimensions as 'seven feet longer and two feet broader than St Peter's at Rome.'⁵ The only explanation seems to be that both writers had in mind old St Peter's; for Wilson lived in the sixteenth century before the present Vatican Basilica was com-

¹ *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, b. vii., c. ix.

² *Ibid*, b. vii., c. x.

³ *Ibid*, b. viii., c. xxii.

⁴ Vol. IX. p. 125 (note).

⁵ P. 38.

pleted, and Slezer settled in Scotland only forty years after its consecration in 1626. In any case the statement is inaccurate; for, although old St Peter's is said to have measured 340 feet exclusive of the apse, its width was three times that of St Andrews.¹ Moreover, many of the English cathedrals exceeded the Scottish metropolitan church in length. All that can be said with certainty in this matter is that St Andrews had the largest cathedral in Scotland,

Only sixty years after its dedication the cathedral suffered severely from fire, which originated, it is said, from the carelessness of a plumber, who suffered some burning lead to fall into the dry twigs which composed the nest of a jackdaw. So serious was the damage that at least £18,000, at present money value, were expended in repairs. Further benefactors enriched the building by windows, pavements and carving during the centuries which followed, until it merited by its beauty the proud title of the 'Canterbury of the North.'

Exteriorly the cathedral seems to have been very imposing. Its warm red stone formed a pleasing contrast to St Rule's grey walls and tower, hard by. Martine, writing more than a century after its destruction, but while the remains must have been more considerable than at present, speaks of 'five pinnacles and a great steeple on the top of the church, . . . the chief steeple . . . erected a great deal larger and higher than any of the rest.'² The entrance at the west end was through a fine 'Galilee'

¹ *Vide*, Barnes, *St Peter in Rome*, p. 254.

² Quoted by Lang, *St Andrews*, p. 55.

porch, whose interior walls were richly arcaded ; this was flanked exteriorly by a turret 110 feet high.¹ The arch which led to the church was known from its beauty as the 'Golden Gate.'² A 'Galilee' was not an uncommon feature in a conventual church. It seems to have derived its name from the angel's words to the holy women: 'Behold, He will go before you into Galilee ; there you shall see Him.'³ The appropriateness of the title lay in the fact of the porch being the recognised part of the church where women were permitted to converse with the religious who served it.⁴

A visitor entering by the western door would find himself in a nave of twelve bays and measuring 200 feet in length. Its arches were supported on unusually massive octagonal pillars and above them ran a triforium opening into the nave by smaller arches, and higher still another passage through the clerestory. At the eastern extremity of the nave was the rood-screen ; beyond it, under the great tower supported by lofty arches on massive pillars, stretched to north and south extensive transepts, while towards the east was the choir, its roof resting on beautiful clustered pillars. Thus the ground-plan formed a Latin cross. From the eastern wall of the choir a Lady Chapel was built out and was entered by an arch behind the high altar canopy. The transepts had each an eastern aisle of the same width as the choir aisles and running at right angles with them.

¹ Walcott, p. 80.

² *Ibid.*

³ S. Matt. xxviii. 7.

⁴ Walcott, *Church and Conventual Arrangements*, p. 80. That author gives other derivations of the name in addition to the above.

The effect of the forest of pillars must have been wonderfully beautiful. The style of the windows varied with the date of their erection. Those towards the western end were pointed; the earlier ones, semi-circular. In the south transept a flight of stone steps led to the dormitory of the canons, for convenience in celebrating the night office.

The interior decorations added to the charm of the building. Prior Bisset, superior of the monastery (1393-1416), enriched the choir with new stalls after the fire.¹ Prior John de Haldenstane (1418-1443) placed the large window in the east gable and adorned the church with carved stalls and images of saints. The same generous donor supplied the beautiful windows and polished pavements of the nave, choir and transepts.

There were as many as thirty altars in the cathedral; six of these stood in the transepts and two others at the eastern extremity of the chancel, on either side of the arch leading into the Lady Chapel. The altar of St John the Baptist was founded by Archdeacon Inglis in 1494, with chaplain's stipend for a daily Mass; Andrew, Bishop of Moray, in like manner endowed the altar of St Martin for the benefit of the souls of the Kings James I, James II, James III and James IV, and of the Queens Joan, Mary and Margaret, wives of the first three. Other altars stood in various parts of the church. Among their dedications were the Holy Cross, the Precious Blood, Our Lady of Pity, St Michael, St Peter, St John, St James, St Bartholomew, St Nicholas, St Ninian, St Antony, St Lawrence, All Saints, St Mary

¹ Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi., c. 55

Magdalene, St Anne, St Catherine, St Barbara and others. Many of these altars were also endowed in perpetuity. A statue of Our Lady was known as the 'Douglas Virgin,' probably because it had been given by that family. Archibald, Earl of Douglas, endowed it with two marks annually to maintain a light before it.¹ As this is the first mention in this volume of such an endowment, it may be well to give here a short explanation of a practice familiar enough to Catholics, but strange, it may be, to some of our readers.

It was an ancient eastern custom to receive and welcome distinguished personages by carrying lights before them. (An instance is related in 2 Machabees, iv. 22.) The custom spread to the West, where the Roman Emperors received the like expressions of honour. From an early period the practice was taken up by Christians, who testified their reverence for altars, sacred images, and the tombs and relics of saints by burning lights before them; this is evident from the express testimony of St Jerome and St Paulinus of Nola, in the fifth century, of the Christian poet, Fortunatus, in the sixth, and of St Gregory the Great in the seventh. The custom has been maintained in the Catholic Church all through the ages until the present. We shall meet later with instances of the like honour being paid to the sepulchres of the dead who had no claim to the title of 'Saint'; in such case the lamp or candle was a mark of reverence to the body which had enshrined the immortal soul of a faithful Christian, and was destined to be re-united with it in glory.

¹ Walcott, p. 77.

Many interesting historical memories are grouped around the Cathedral of St Andrews. That was a red-letter day for the city when in presence of King Malcolm IV, Bishop Arnold laid the foundation stone—the most notable act of his short pontificate of two years (1160-1162). More glorious still was that on which Bishop Lamberton solemnly dedicated the church to God, some 160 years later. During the centuries that followed, its bishops often took a prominent part in the affairs of the kingdom. Thus Hugh (1178) was the chaplain of King William the Lion, and was so special a favourite of that monarch that he obstinately refused to allow any other cleric to be placed in the see. Roger (1188) was ex-Chancellor of the kingdom; William Malvoisin (1202) both baptised and crowned King Alexander II; David, Great Chamberlain to Alexander II, anointed Alexander III; William Wishart (1272) had been Chancellor of the kingdom, and Alexander III assisted at his consecration; William Fraser (1279) was both Chancellor and Regent of the kingdom; William Landells (1341) crowned Robert II; James Kennedy, nephew of James I, was one of the Regents for James III; James Stuart (1497) was son of James III; Cardinal Beaton, its most famous archbishop, the greatest figure in the history of the Scottish Reformation, was the special friend and councillor of James V and the bulwark of Catholicism as long as he lived. It was a bishop, Henry Wardlaw, who founded in 1410, the University of St Andrews, while Bishop Kennedy, in 1451, founded St Salvator's College. Other prelates did much towards the improvement and beautifying of the

cathedral city. Thus Bishop Roger and Bishop Trail built the famous Castle of St Andrews, which played so important a part in later ages, and Bishop Wardlaw was the donor of the guard bridge over the Eden.

The priors of St Andrews ruled over the canons in the monastery and presided at the choir offices. They ranked before any of the abbots of the kingdom and occupied a seat in Parliament.¹ Many of them were notable men. John de Haldenstane already mentioned, obtained from Pope Martin I, for himself and his successors, the privilege of using the mitre, so that after his time the priors were able to celebrate pontifically in the absence of the Bishop. The Church offices were always carried out with much solemnity; for the Austin Canons were renowned for their superior singing. Prior Hepburn founded St Leonard's College and began, about the year 1520, the magnificent boundary wall round the precincts of the priory. This splendid piece of work was 870 yards in length and in some parts as much as 22 feet high. It was adorned with about sixteen turrets and with many statues and shields bearing coats-of-arms.²

In 1537 St Andrews was the centre of rejoicing, on the occasion of the marriage of James V to Mary of Guise. The bride was lodged in the New Inn, the hospice of the priory, which had been specially fitted up for her at great cost. At the 'new gate' a triumphal arch had been erected, and here took place one of the pageants so much in favour at that period.

¹ Furdun, *Scotichronicon*, lib. vi., c. xlix.

² Lyon, *passim*.

Sir David Lindsay, we are told, 'caused a great cloud to come out of the heavens above the gate and open instantly, and there appeared a fair lady, most like an angel, having the keys of Scotland in her hands, and delivered them to the Queen, in sign and token that all the hearts of Scotland were open to receive Her Grace.' The marriage was solemnized in the cathedral by Archbishop James Beaton, and the celebrations lasted for forty days, 'with great merri-ness and games, as jesting, running at the lists, archery, hunting, hawking, with singing and dancing in maskery and playing and all other princely game, according to a king and queen.'¹ Only twenty years later St Andrews witnessed far different scenes. Knox and his 'rascal multitude' arrived in the city on 9th June 1559, and not only were the monasteries of the Dominicans and Franciscans overthrown by these violent 'reformers', but, according to the generally received tradition, the glorious cathedral also was, at least partly, demolished. Whatever mutilated remnants may have escaped their fury were more completely wrecked by order of the Protestant leaders in the year following, when the Earls of Argyll, Arran and Glencairn roamed about the country destroying what they were pleased to style 'monuments of idolatry'. Later on the devastation was completed by the carting off in great quantities of the stones which had formed the building, for the purpose of constructing the pier of St Andrews. All that can be seen now are portions of the west front, of the wall of the south aisle, of the south and west walls, of the transept and other

¹ Lindsay of Pitscottie (Edinburgh *ed.*, 1814), p. 376.

scattered fragments. Even in their ruinous condition they form an imposing group. It is but just to say that they are now duly cared for and protected from further molestation.

GLASGOW

The cathedral next in importance to St Andrews was that of Glasgow, which, like the primatial see, was later on in history raised to archiepiscopal rank. History points to St Kentigern (popularly known as Mungo, or 'the well-beloved') as the first bishop of this see. There, after a long life of apostolic labour, he was laid to rest in 612. The humble wooden church and monastery of the saint, built on ground hallowed for Christian burial by St Ninian¹ in the fifth century, formed the site of the more substantial erection placed there through the munificence of David I, son of St Margaret, in 1123. This later building, however, was destroyed by fire about fifty years after its completion, and it was left to Bishop Jocelin, a former abbot of Melrose, to commence a more spacious cathedral, which devotion to St Mungo, the apostle of Glasgow, led him to erect over the tomb of that saint.

To rouse interest in his project Jocelin persuaded his namesake Jocelin, Cistercian monk of Rievaulx, to write the life of St Kentigern, which is still extant. To obtain funds for the building expenses the bishop established the Guild of St Kentigern, whose members, protected by royal warrant, collected alms in every quarter of the realm for the pious work. It is a proof of Bishop Jocelin's untiring zeal and energy

¹ Pinkerton's *Lives*, c. ix.

that sixteen years after, in 1187, a new church was finished and ready for consecration. It is a matter of doubt as to whether any portion of this building yet remains, though some authorities think that at least a part of the lower church may be ascribed to Jocelin. The present cathedral was probably commenced by Bishop William de Bondington (1223-1258). That prelate procured from the Provincial Council of the Scottish Church, which met at Perth in 1242, an enactment which required every parish priest in the realm to urge upon his parishioners every Sunday and holy day between Ash Wednesday and Low Sunday, the duty of contributing towards the building; pastors were enjoined to expound to the people plainly, in the vulgar tongue, the indulgences granted to those who should give alms for the proposed work.¹ By means of these collections the lower church and choir were probably completed. A bell tower and the transepts were added during the twenty years that followed, and after this nothing more was done for a considerable period. About the beginning of the fourteenth century the present nave was commenced; early in the following century the chapter house, with the sacristy above it and the present stone spire, were built. Archbishop Blacader finished the undercroft of a south transept which was destined never to be completed, and built the rood-loft and the staircases to the lower church before 1508. Since that time nothing has been added, but much has been removed.

Glasgow Cathedral is the only one on the mainland which was suffered to stand unmolested, as far as its

¹ Regis., p. xxviii.

main buildings were concerned, during Reformation troubles. Its western towers, to the indignation of antiquaries of the present day, were pulled down in 1846 and 1848, on the plea that they disfigured the building, although they are considered to have dated from the period of Bishop de Bondington. But for this the church, as a building, would be as complete now as it was before the Reformation.

Considered as a cathedral, it is not of large dimensions. Its nave measures 155 feet in length and 30 in breadth, and rises to the height of 90 feet. The aisles are lofty, but narrow. Over them runs a triforium of pointed arches with clustered pillars. The transepts are very short, extending scarcely at all beyond the width of the nave and aisles; this construction, besides being a special feature in Scottish architecture, was rendered necessary by the nature of the ground on which the church stands. The choir is 127 feet long and 80 feet high, and an aisle runs all round it, even behind the high altar; the square end of the church, behind this aisle, is taken up with four small chapels for altars. The architecture of the nave is pointed and is symmetrical in style, as it was built on one design; it consists of eight bays. While the aisles are groined in stone, the roof of the nave is of wood. A richly decorated closed screen of stone separates it from the choir, and forming part of it are two stone altars, standing one on either side of the entrance. It is remarkable that these altars escaped all 'reforming'; they are probably unique in Scotland.

Beautiful as the church undoubtedly is, it cannot claim extraordinary distinction as regards its upper

portion. The gem of the building is the splendid undercroft, which though it is commonly called the crypt, is in reality a distinct church. In its south-east corner is St Mungo's Well, now covered up by a wooden cap. This vaulted building rests on more than thirty beautiful clustered pillars of various dimensions and design. In the centre the groining of the roof converges towards the spot, where, under the high altar of the church above, four slender columns support the 'catafalque,' as it is called, over the flat slab where stood the splendid shrine of St Mungo and his mother, St Thenog. At the northeast corner of this lower church stands the fine chapter house, its vaulted roof supported on a massive central pillar. Above it is the sacristy, a building almost exactly similar. Even in its present bare state the lower church with its fine pillars of varied design and its small pointed windows with graceful tracery is strikingly beautiful. When it was fitted up with altars, together with hangings and the various requisites for Catholic worship, it must have been truly magnificent. A distinguished architect who visited the cathedral with a friend of the writer characterised the style of the exterior as of third-rate merit, the interior as only of second-rate, but the lower church as a building of unique beauty. Other authorities have spoken of it as unrivalled in Europe.

In the days of its glory the cathedral contained about thirty altars. One stood against each of the great clustered pillars of the nave, so disposed that the celebrant faced east. The dedications of most of these have been identified with painstaking research by the late Dr Eyre, Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow,

whose lecture on the subject, delivered before the Glasgow Archæological Society, is incorporated in Mr Eyre-Todd's fine volume. There were thus sixteen altars in the nave, besides the two at the rood-screen, which still exist; the latter were dedicated to the Holy Rood and Our Lady of Pity. In the choir were the high altar, dedicated to St Kentigern, and three others behind the eastern aisle. Two others in the upper church brought the number to twenty-four. The lower church had St Kentigern's altar over his tomb, another altar on the south side, dedicated to Our Lady of Pity; and four others. Thus there were in all at least thirty altars for the use of the canons who formed the chapter and the other clergy. The later undercroft, built by Archbishop Blacader towards the close of the fifteenth century, is also a vaulted building of great beauty. It extends at right angles with the under church and seems to have been intended as a crypt to an extension of the south transept. The fittings of the church, including the vestments and altar furniture, were on a scale of great magnificence as extant inventories show. The high altar was surmounted by a carved and gilded canopy hung with silken curtains and the altar was itself adorned with more or less precious frontals in accordance with the rank of the feast. Many such pieces of furniture appear in the inventories.¹ It was from the contents of the presses in which such decorations were stored that Bishop Robert Wishart (1272-1316) was accused of providing material for Bruce's coronation robes before he crowned him king at Scone.

¹ *Registrum*, vol. ii, p. 329 *seq.*

With regard to the splendour of the ritual observed, we are able to gain an insight as to its nature by comparing it with the contemporary ceremonial of England and other countries. It may perhaps bring the subject home more closely if we venture to describe in detail the celebration of some solemn feast as a worshipper would have seen it carried out in Glasgow Cathedral in the sixteenth century. For this was one of the Scottish cathedrals in which the Sarum Rite was followed. That rite, differing in many details from the Roman, to which Catholics are now accustomed, was introduced at Glasgow by Bishop Herbert in the twelfth century, and was observed there up to the Reformation.

A visitor to St Mungo's on the eve of the feast in question will await, with the crowd of laity who throng the nave, the entrance of the archbishop and clergy. The festal pealing of the bells announces the approach of the prelate, and soon a stately procession sweeps through the great western entrance—only opened for such occasions—and passes up the nave to the jubilant welcome of organ and singers. Twelve officials lead the way. One bears aloft the archiepiscopal cross, the others carry maces of solid silver. Some thirty canons in choir dress of surplice and furred hood surround the archbishop, and a crowd of attendants bring up the rear. The brilliant throng passes through the gates of the choir, the 'rulers of choir,' or cantors, each robed in silken cope and bearing a silver staff of office, range themselves across the western end, near the beautiful rood-screen, and the solemn Evensong commences.

The canons, seated in their stalls on either side,

join in the chanting with the help of the great choral-books bound in white leather, which form part of the church's rich treasury. The altar, decked for the feast, is resplendent with magnificent silken frontal—perhaps that one 'powdered with crowns of gold,' or that 'of red silk with ornamentation of flowers and leaves,' which figure in the inventory of this cathedral; above the altar, in the silver pyx which hangs from the carved and gilded canopy of the 'Sacrament House' by chains of precious metal, is the Blessed Sacrament, surrounded by ever-burning lights. At the *Magnificat* two priests in copes jointly incense the high altar; then, passing by opposite aisles down the church, offer the same act of honour to each of the twenty-four altars of the upper church. Vespers ended, the prelate and his attendants depart in the same stately array with which they came.

But it is at the Pontifical Mass on the morning of the festival that the ceremonial is most impressive. Entering in the same state as for Vespers, the archbishop and canons, together with the inferior clergy, prepare to take part in the solemn procession with which the rite commences. Soon the spectator sees it issuing from the great gates of the choir. Three clerics, clad in albs and silken tunics and walking abreast, bear aloft three richly chased processional crosses of precious metal. Acolytes, thurifers, attendants follow. Cantors in copes, deacons and subdeacons—five, or even seven of each—vested in tunics, canons wearing rich copes, follow in due order. The archbishop in his precious mitre and cope, bearing his pastoral staff—his cross borne before him—

forms the principal figure in this magnificent assemblage. Passing down the aisle, the procession makes the circuit of the vast church and returns to the choir. After the office of Tierce has been sung the Mass begins. The cantors commence the solemn chant of the *Introit* as the celebrating prelate and his train of assistant ministers enter from the sacristy beyond the choir, clad in their vestments. With stately rhythm the august rite proceeds. Five deacons and as many subdeacons, and on the highest festivals seven of each order, take part in the function. During the Canon of the Mass the sanctuary presents a spectacle of imposing splendour. On the highest step of the altar is the archbishop in his jewelled vestments, below him the long line of deacons, lower still the subdeacons; in the choir are canons in copes, and clergy in surplices. It is a scene of magnificence such as the Catholic Church alone can furnish, and one which might have been witnessed in many a cathedral of Scotland in Catholic ages.

Many of the Bishops of Glasgow held high offices of state. No less than ten were Chancellors of the kingdom. Several were in other respects men of mark. Thus Bishop Jocelin, besides his labours in building the cathedral, obtained for Glasgow from King William the Lion the grant of a burgh with a fair and weekly market. In 1182 he journeyed to Rome and obtained from Pope Lucius III the absolution from censure of the same King William. He received from Pope Clement III the assurance of the dependence of the Scottish bishoprics upon the Apostolic See alone. William Malvoisin was Bishop of Glasgow before being translated to St Andrews.

Bishop Walter (1208-1232) took part in the Fourth Lateran Council. William Rae (1336-1367) built part of the original Glasgow Bridge, which was removed in 1856 only. Walter Wardlaw received from the Anti-Pope, Robert of Geneva, in 1385, the titles of Cardinal and Papal Legate.¹ Bishop John Cameron before becoming Chancellor was made by James I Secretary of State. James Beaton, uncle of the celebrated Cardinal, was Archbishop of Glasgow before his translation to St Andrews. He was at one time Lord Treasurer. Archbishop Gavin Dunbar (1524-1547), nephew of the Aberdeen bishop of that name, was tutor to James V. He advised that king to establish the College of Justice, now the Supreme Court of Scotland. Bishop Dunbar gave two bells for the western tower of the cathedral. James Beaton (1551-1603) was the last Catholic archbishop and was nephew to Cardinal Beaton. He was present at the marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin in 1558. At the Reformation he retired to France, carrying with him the treasures and archives of his cathedral, which he deposited in the Scots College at Paris. Queen Mary restored to him the revenues of his see in 1598, but he never returned to Scotland, which by that time had, as a nation, wholly renounced Catholicism.

In 1490 King James IV petitioned the Holy See to raise Glasgow to archiepiscopal rank, stating as a reason that it 'surpassed all the other cathedral churches of his realm by its structure, its learned

¹ In the confusion as to the rightful Pope then prevailing, Scotland followed the example of her ally, France, in acknowledging the claims of Robert, who styled himself Clement VII.

men, its foundation, its ornaments and other very noble prerogatives.’¹ His request was granted in 1492.

Glasgow’s evil day came with the advent of Puritanism. ‘The altars,’ says Archbishop Eyre, ‘the stalls with their canopied work, the sculptures and the painted glass, were destroyed in 1559. At this time of general destruction an order was given for the destruction of the altars and sculptures, but with the proviso that “you take good heed that neither the desks, windows or doors be anywise hurt or broken, either glasswork or ironwork.” Lord Glencairn conducted the work here, and when a mob is let loose, how vain are provisos or restrictions as to sparing windows or doors! All the other cathedrals on the mainland were wrecked and destroyed during that convulsion. Glasgow alone remained.’²

To the credit of the city be it said, the beautiful building is now well cared for and regarded as the pride of Glasgow. The choir is used for Presbyterian worship and fitted up with pews and a hideous reredos behind a communion table, but the nave is free and unencumbered and presents a beautiful picture of pure Gothic architecture. The lovely undercroft, like the nave, is never used now for Protestant services; the windows have been filled with modern stained glass and the whole structure is kept clean and neat. To the Catholic heart it is a subject of rejoicing that one can freely visit and pray beside the body of Glasgow’s apostle, who, amid all the changes that have gone over his burial place, has been left—as far

¹ Walcott, p. 190.

² Eyre-Todd, p. 323.

as we know—undisturbed in the tomb in which he has reposed for thirteen centuries.

DUNKELD

Following the accepted order of the various sees during the middle ages, the Cathedral of Dunkeld, in Perthshire, now claims our notice. This see was founded at about A. D. 1127, but the church, dedicated to St Columba, which forms the subject of this sketch, was not commenced until quite a century later. The choir, as was often the case, was the first portion completed; traces of Early English architecture are to be distinguished there. It was, however, reconstructed in 1320 by Bishop William Sinclair, and restored, after being given to the flames by English invaders, by Bishop John de Peebles. In 1406 Bishop Robert de Cardeny began the nave. Bishop Railstone built the aisles with stone carried from Burbane quarry in baskets on the backs of horses, owing to the absence of roads. Bishop Lauder finished the church and consecrated it in 1468.

When completed the cathedral consisted of a building 224 feet in length. Its nave was 120 feet long, 60 broad and 40 high. Its choir, without aisles, measured 104 feet. A square chapter house stood on the north side of the choir. The architecture was chiefly of the pointed order; the pillars of the nave, which was seven bays in length, were massive, circular shafts measuring 13 feet round—an instance of an earlier style combined with a later, a not unusual feature in Scottish churches. The windows of the aisles were particularly beautiful, combining no less than eight distinct patterns of tracery. The

great west window was a very fine specimen of French Flamboyant style with remarkably intricate forms.

Besides a large tower at the west end of the north aisle, there was a small octagonal turret which ran up above the height of the gable of the nave, on the south side of the main doorway. It had the appearance of a watch-tower, being pierced with loop-holes to light the staircase within and surmounted by a parapeted gallery. Two of the bells in the large tower bore the names of St George and St Columba.

A visitor to the cathedral in the fifteenth century would have found at the entrance to the choir, as at Glasgow, the two altars of Our Lady and the Holy Cross. At the latter was preserved a relic of the sacred wood. Around the church were altars dedicated to St Michael, St John the Baptist, SS Andrew, Stephen, Martin, Ninian, Holy Innocents and others. The reredos of the high altar dedicated to the titular, St Columba, was beautifully painted with representations of twenty-four miracles of the saint. It was the gift of Bishop Lauder, who presented other rich ornaments also to this altar. Among them were images of angels, massive candlesticks, and fifteen chandeliers for wax tapers. In the sanctuary was a lectern of brass, from which the Gospel was sung by the deacon. It was decorated with statues of the four evangelists and upheld by the figure of Moses with arms outstretched. The choir screen bore painted representations of apostles and saints and over the stalls were figures of kings, bishops and others—a reminder to the canons to remember the benefactors of the church in their

prayers. The sacristy was well furnished with rich vestments and hangings.¹

The Bishops of Dunkeld seem to have suffered considerably from time to time from the incursions of hostile clans upon their territories. It was for defence against such that Bishop Cardeny (1396-1436) built for himself and his successors a fortified palace near the cathedral. It has now disappeared, though the name of 'Castle Close' still designates its site. An idea may be gained of the troubles of ecclesiastics in lawless times by the fact that Bishop Lauder (1452-1476) was celebrating Mass on the feast of Pentecost, when an armed band, led by an Athol chief, broke into the church. To avoid their arrows the unfortunate prelate was forced to leave the altar and climb up aloft to hide among the beams of the roof. The chief had been previously imprisoned by the bishop and thus took his revenge.

It had not been considered safe, previous to Bishop Lauder's time, to attempt to hold a diocesan synod at Dunkeld. Prudence dictated the Carmelite church at Perth as more secure. But when, at length, towards the end of the fifteenth century, more peaceful days dawned, it was possible to hold the assembly in the newly erected chapter house. Even as late as 1516 a scene of violence attended the installation of Bishop Gavin Douglas. A rival claimant, Andrew Stewart, opposed the entrance of the rightful prelate by a shower of shot from the cathedral tower and palace. The whole country, however, was soon aroused in defence of their bishop, who at length gained access to his cathedral.

¹ Walcott, p. 209.

Some of the Bishops of Dunkeld are worthy of note. Bishop John Scott, an Englishman, was a special favorite of King Alexander III. The zealous prelate petitioned the Pope for the erection of part of his diocese into the See of Argyll, since he understood not the language of the inhabitants 'called Irish'—in other words, the Celtic tongue. He became a monk and was buried at the Cistercian Abbey of Newbattle in 1203. Bishop Hugh de Sigillo was so kind and charitable to the poor that he acquired the name of 'poor man's bishop.' He died within a year of his consecration in 1215. Bishop Geoffrey Liverance (1236-1249) introduced the Sarum Rite into his Cathedral. William Sinclair was styled by King Robert Bruce his 'own bishop' on account of that prelate's gallantry during an invasion of the English in 1317. The bishop rallied a band of retreating Scottish cavalry under the leadership of the Sheriff of Fife, by the inspiring cry: 'All you that love Scotland's honour, follow me!' At the same time he taunted the craven sheriff with the wish that the king would hew off that faint-hearted dignitary's gilded spurs. The result of the bishop's action was the thorough rout of the English.¹ Bishop George Brown (1484-1514), who had been consecrated at Rome by Pope Sixtus IV, was a thoroughly pious prelate and a strict observer of discipline. 'He wrought no small reformation in all parts of his diocese.'² appointing Gaelic preachers for the Highlanders who knew no English. Bishop Gavin Douglas (1516-1522) is held in renown in Scotland as a dis-

¹ Walcott, p. 213.

² Keith, p. 92.

tinguished scholar. He wrote many poetical works and was the first to translate Virgil into English.

The troubled days of the Reformation left their mark on the venerable cathedral. The Lords of the Congregation despatched in 1560 the following letter to their 'trusty friends the Lairds of Amtuby and Kinwalyd.' The writing is believed, from its similarity to his signature, to be that of Lord James Stewart:

'Trusty Friends,

'After most hearty commendation, we pray you fail not to pass incontinent to the Kirk of Dunkeld, and take down the whole images thereof, and bring down to the kirkyard and burn them openly; and likewise cast down the altars, and purge the kirk of all kinds of monuments of idolatry; and this ye fail not to do as ye will do us singular pleasure; and so commit you to the protection of God. Fail not but ye take good heed, that neither the desks, windows nor doors be any ways hurt or broken—either glasswork or ironwork.

(Signed) 'ARGYLL,
'JAMES STEUART,
'RUTHVEN.'¹

The latter part of the injunction, as Archbishop Eyre has remarked concerning Glasgow, was disregarded, for the cathedral was completely sacked, the windows smashed and doors torn from their hinges. Tradition affirms that what these emissaries of the Congregation had left undemolished was destroyed by the Laird of Cardeny, the lateral descendant of one of Dunkeld's most worthy Bishops who had done much in his time to beautify the building which his degenerate relative was to desecrate. The Laird, among other unholy deeds, unroofed the whole church.

¹ 'New Statis. Account,' vol. x., p. 976. The spelling has been modernized.

In 1600 the cathedral was fitted with a new roof that it might serve as a parish church. It had not yet seen the last of violence and bloodshed. After the death of Dundee at Killiecrankie, his troops engaged at Dunkeld with the Cameronians, 1200 in number. From 7 o'clock in the morning of August 21, 1689, until 11 o'clock at night, the inhabitants of the town took refuge in the cathedral. When the troops had retired it was the only building which had not been destroyed by fire.¹

The venerable pile still forms a picturesque feature in the landscape lying by the banks of the Tay. Its grey tower rises from among the trees which shade its ruins, beautiful still in their decay. The choir is still used for Presbyterian worship. More than £5000 were spent on its restoration during the last century.

Interesting relics of the old cathedral are still preserved among the MSS. of the University Library, Edinburgh, in the shape of some of the music books once used in its choir.²

ABERDEEN

The first authentic record of the see of Aberdeen appears in 1150, when the name of Edward, Bishop of Aberdeen, occurs in a grant of King David I to the Abbey of Dunfermline.³ There seem to have been at least three churches erected at different times on the site of the cathedral whose remains are still to be

¹ 'New Statis. Acct.,' vol. x., p. 978.

² Keith, p. 93 (note).

³ 'Regist. Dunferm.,' (*Banantyne Club*), p. 8.

seen. Of the first, or original church, no record exists; the second, built by Bishop Matthew de Kyninmund in the twelfth century, gave place to another erected by Bishops Hugh de Benham and Henry le Chen, and consecrated by the latter prelate towards the end of the thirteenth century. Finally Bishop Alexander de Kyninmund in 1357 demolished the old church and began an entirely new erection. He died before the walls were 18 feet high. Bishop de Leighton (1424-1441) built the north transept and commenced other portions. In 1445 Bishop Lindsay roofed the church and paved it. Bishop Elphinstone completed the great central tower in 1489 and presented the fourteen bells. Bishop Gavin Dunbar finished the western towers and south transept in 1522. Bishop Stewart built the chapter house in 1532.¹ Thus it was only entirely completed about thirty years before the Reformation storm broke upon it. The church was dedicated to St Mary and St Machar, the latter a disciple of St Columba.

So full an inventory is still extant of the ornaments and treasures of the cathedral that it is possible to give a tolerably correct picture of this noble building as it must have appeared in Catholic ages.² Instead of a description of mere dry details, it will, perhaps, be more agreeable reading if we depict Aberdeen Cathedral as it would have met the eye of a sixteenth century pilgrim. Let the reader, then, imagine himself as one of a pious group of travellers arrived in the old city late in the evening of July 1 in the year of grace 1557. It is the vigil of one of the chief

¹ Walcott, p. 97.

² *Registrum*, vol. ii, p. 127 *seq.*

feasts connected with the cathedral—the Visitation of Our Lady, which is celebrated in that church with more than wonted solemnity.

By 6 o'clock on the following morning St Machar's Church is astir with a throng of devout Christians. At 5 o'clock and twice again during the hour the bells have pealed in festive fashion to announce the Matins office, which always commences at 6. The church is unique in one respect—so say the townsfolk with much pride—it is the only cathedral in the world built entirely—*i.e.*, from its western extremity as far as the transepts—of grey granite. Its quaint western towers and the severe simplicity of style seen in the west front are accounted for by the hard nature of the material. Yet there is much rugged grandeur in the building as the bright beams of the early sun light up its solid masonry on the July morning in question. The visitor enters by the north porch, which is known as the 'marriage door'; for here is usually commenced the marriage ceremony, the bridal train passing on into the church afterwards for the Nuptial Mass. Entering the nave, he finds himself in a severely plain building. Its massive round pillars have very little carving, and its clerestory windows are almost devoid of ornament. Yet there is a wealth of wood carving in wainscot and screen work and in the beautiful pulpit. The oaken ceiling, too, is glowing with gold and colours, decorated with shields bearing the arms of kings, bishops and nobles belonging to many Christian countries.

Through the screens which shut off the altars in the aisles burning tapers glimmer in honour of the feast. Before the altar of St Catherine hangs the

pendant chandelier wrought with nine flowers, each holding a taper. A generous benefactor to the church, Canon Clatt, presented it many years ago, as well as the beautiful triptych which is to be seen outspread at the back of the altar. St Columba's altar, and St Michael's and St Andrew's, and all the other side altars in their respective chapels, are adorned for the feast. But that of Our Lady in the nave attracts the special attention of visitors to-day. Before it stands the large candelabrum given to the church by Bishop Elphinstone of saintly memory. It is filled to-day with lighted tapers. High above it are the statues of Our Lady of Pity and her Divine Son, both of them robed in costly vestments and adorned with crowns of silver gilt set with precious stones, while the altar itself is resplendent in its gorgeous frontal of blue and yellow satin brocade.

Beyond the rood-screen, in the choir, the nineteen canons with the vicars and choristers are singing Matins. At the conclusion of the office the Mass of Our Lady, sung here every day at this hour, is solemnly celebrated. The celebrant and his ministers wear rich vestments of white velvet wrought with gold; their amices are adorned with collars and their albs 'appareled'¹ with the same material. Four cantors in copes standing abreast near the screen and holding their staves of office lead the chant; the canons in choir copes, the vicars in surplices and furred hoods and the boy choristers in blue cassocks

¹ An 'apparel', in mediæval phraseology, meant an oblong piece of embroidery or rich stuff stitched near the hem of the alb, both behind and before; smaller pieces adorned the cuffs. Such ornaments are still to be seen in churches where Gothic vestments are worn.

with surplices join in the Gregorian melodies of the 'Mary Mass.'

But the solemn Mass of the day is celebrated later with much greater splendour. The fourteen bells in the steeple ring out a tuneful peal at intervals during the hour between 8 and 9. At the summons our pilgrim again repairs to the cathedral. The office of Tierce is just over and preparations are being made for the procession before Mass begins. A precious cross of silver is borne first, and the clergy and canons follow in due order. Immediately before the bishop, who brings up the rear, is carried a costly silver image of Our Lady, the gift of the Treasurer, Andrew Lyall, in 1499, and ordained by Bishop Elphinstone to be borne in procession on all the chief feasts. After making the round of the church the procession enters the choir. The celebrant and his ministers, clad in rich white silk vestments, their embroideries thickly set with pearls, enter the sanctuary as the cantors intone the *Introit* of the day.

The altar is decked as for a festival. Rich carpets cover the pavement and leaves of sweet-scented bay are strewn in the choir. The walls are hung with tapestry depicting the life of Our Lady. Twenty-four chandeliers of brass, bearing lighted tapers, stand around. On the north side stands a low altar, upon which are placed silver statues of Our Lady and St Machar, the precious relic of the arm of St Fergus in a silver shrine, crystal reliquaries containing other sacred relics and much of the rich plate belonging to the well-furnished sacristy. The high altar is surmounted by a carved and gilded canopy,

known as the 'Sacrament House,' and from it depends the golden pyx, shrouded in costly veils of blue and gold and containing the Blessed Sacrament. It is a scene of solemn splendour befitting the house of God.

Contrast such a pilgrimage as this with a visit paid by the writer to St Machar's on a bleak March day. The grey old towers and granite walls have doubtless changed but little; for their solid material does not readily lend itself to ruin. The startling change is to be found in the interior of the building. There are the massive pillars still, and the glowing roof has been retouched; but in the spot where once stood the rood-screen and the altar of Our Lady of Pity a great organ rears its carved front and gilded pipes, with pulpit and precentor's pew before it, while a large window of poor design forms a background in place of the former opening into the canons' choir. No altar, no carved screens or side chapels, no statues or stained glass windows are to be seen as of old, but everywhere comfortable cushioned pews fill up the available space. All the building that remains is there, precisely because it was too strong to be hewed down. Lady Chapel and transepts, formed in softer stone, have gone. Choir proper there never was; the stalls were placed under the central tower between the transepts.

The change was wrought here, as elsewhere, by a rabble of so-called 'reformers,' who swarmed into the cathedral in January, 1560, spoiled it of its ornaments, stripped the lead from the roof and battered down all they could. The bells they shipped off to Holland, but by Divine judgment, as it seemed, the vessel with its freight perished in sight of land.

Bishop Gordon had foreseen the coming peril and had placed in keeping of some of the canons the treasures of his church, though they seem to have eventually disappeared—possibly seized by some of the spoilers. In the inventory,¹ drawn up on the occasion, is mentioned among other costly pieces of plate, ‘a chalice of pure gold, with the pattin (paten) thereof, 3 pointed diamonds in the foot thereof and 2 rubies of B. Dunbar’s gift of 52 ounces.’ Many fine vestments, hangings and adornments of the altar appear in the same list.

Before proceeding to relate the after events of the Reformation, it may be well to allude here to some of the bishops of this see who were distinguished among the prelates of their day and have not yet been mentioned. Ralph de Lambley (1247), formerly Benedictine Abbot of Arbroath, is said to have travelled through his diocese on foot to preach to his people and to have lived as a monk in his episcopal palace. Henry le Chen, besides building a great part of his cathedral, erected a fine bridge over the Don 72 feet in length and 60 in height. Gilbert de Greenlaw (1390-1424) was sent on an embassy to Charles VII of France. He was made Chancellor of the kingdom in 1396. Henry de Leighton (1424-1441) was one of the commissioners sent to London for negotiating the ransom of King James I. Thomas Spens (1459-1480) was Keeper of the Privy Seal and envoy in several legations. He erected a hospital for the poor in the city of Edinburgh. The most distinguished of all, William Elphinstone, held many offices of state, such as

¹ It is this inventory, printed in the *Registrum Episc. Aberd.*, that has furnished matter for the above description.

Chancellor and Privy Seal. Besides doing much for his cathedral he founded the University of Aberdeen. This prelate built a fine bridge over the Dee, for which he bequeathed £10,000. He was one of the most learned and pious bishops of his time. Bishop Gavin Dunbar (1518-1532) carried out Bishop Elphinstone's bequest regarding the bridge, and himself endowed a hospital at Aberdeen for twelve poor men in the very year in which his death occurred.¹

The finishing touches to the spoliation of Aberdeen Cathedral are related by a seventeenth century writer. His account, which could scarcely be improved upon, shall be given *verbatim*: 'Wednesday, the 5th of August (1640), the Earl of Seaforth,' with others whom he mentions by name, 'came all riding up to the gate to St Machar's Kirk, ordained Our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ His arms to be cut out of the forefront of the pulpit thereof, and to take down the portraiture of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Our Saviour in her arms, that had stood since the upputting thereof, in curious work, under the ceiling at the west end of the pend (*i.e.*, arched space) whereon the great steeple stands, unmoved till now; and gave order to Colonel Master of Forbes to see this done. . . . He caused a mason strike out Christ's arms in hewn work, on each end of Bishop Gavin Dunbar's tomb (this stood in the south transept), and siclike (likewise) chisel out the name of Jesus, drawn cypher ways (*i.e.*, the monogram I. H. S.), out of the timber wall on the foreside of Machar's aisle.' Two years later the same writer

¹ Keith, pp. 107, etc., Walcott, pp. 106 *seq.*, and Collec. Aberd. and Banff, vol. i, pp. 150 *seq.*

chronicles another outrage: 'Upon the 16th day of December Dr Guild and Mr William Strachan yoked William Charles, wright (*i.e.*, carpenter) in Aberdeen, to the down-taking of the back of the high altar, standing upon the east wall of Bishop Gavin Dunbar's aisle, as high nearly as the ceiling thereof, curiously wrought of fine wainscot, so that within Scotland there was not a better wrought piece. The craftsman would not put his hand to the down-taking thereof till Mr William Strachan, our minister, laid first hand thereto, which he did, and syne (*i.e.*, afterwards) the work was begun. . . . Now our minister devised a loft' (probably a gallery, so dear to the Presbyterian heart), 'for ease of the people at sermon, going athwart the kirk south and north . . . and with this back of the altar and haille (*i.e.*, the whole of the) ornaments thereupon he decored this beastly loft; whereas forty pounds would have cost as meikle timber as would have done the samen, if they would have suffered the foresaid ornament to stand.'¹

The 'loft,' which seems to have been built across the transepts, was not long suffered to adorn the building; for the English soldiers in 1652 carried off the softer stone of the east end, which they thus wholly demolished, to build a fort. This weakened the central tower, which fell with a crash in 1688, burying in its ruins all that remained of that portion of the building. Thanks to the imperishable material and solid masonry of the remainder, it still survives—a relic of the former glories of a holy shrine. Amid the trees of the churchyard beyond stand the richly decorated tombs of Bishops de Leighton and Dunbar with that of another prelate, name unknown;

¹ Spalding, pp. 192-316.

they were once enclosed in the eastern portion of the building. Except the traces of groining which may still be discovered outside the present eastern extremity, these tombs are all that can be seen at the present day of the transepts of the cathedral. Yet the granite building with its nave and aisles and quaint twin towers with stunted looking spires—a prominent object from the railway which passes by—stands firm and compact as ever, and in its stable endurance typifies the unchanging and undying faith in whose honour it was réared.

ELGIN

Beautiful as were many of the buildings belonging to the old Scottish cathedrals, none surpassed in dignity and grace the glorious Church of the Holy Trinity at Elgin, which merited the poetic title of 'The Lantern of the North.'¹ The seat of the Bishop of Moray was transferred from Spynie to Elgin, two miles distant, by Bishop Andrew, in the thirteenth century. A church of considerable size already existed, but many additions were necessary to fit it for its more exalted rank. Whatever may have been done by Bishop Andrew was rendered of no avail by a fire which broke out fifty years after and consumed at least a portion of the edifice. Fresh efforts were made by successive bishops to restore the cathedral to its former splendour between 1270, the date of the fire, and 1390. During that period a chapter house, porch, choir aisles, and probably other additions were made. But in 1390 occurred a serious disaster. Alexander, Earl of Buchan, fourth son of King Robert II by his first

¹ Rampini; Walcott, *passim*.

wife, Elizabeth Mure, had been angered by the Bishop of Moray's adverse decision in a suit brought against the Earl by his outraged wife Eupheme, Countess of Ross, and in revenge seized on some of that prelate's lands. The bishop excommunicated him and the infuriated noble, who from his fierce temper and cruel disposition had earned the title of 'Wolf of Badenoch,' swooped down on Elgin with a lawless horde of 'wyld, wykkyd Heland-men,'¹ and gave the whole city to the flames, including the beautiful cathedral with all its books and ornaments.

This wanton outrage nearly broke the heart of the aged bishop, Robert Barr, who made a piteous appeal to the king for help. But again, in 1402, a fresh attack was made on the church by Alexander, son of Donald Lord of the Isles. After burning the town and spoiling the goods of the canons, he was met by the bishop, William of Spynie, at the gate of the cathedral and was so touched by the prelate's bold rebuke that he confessed his fault and begged for forgiveness, and eventually received solemn pardon for his offence. Henceforward the beautifying and improving of their cathedral was the chief object of each succeeding bishop and met with no further rebuff. The buildings were receiving continual additions till 1538, little more than twenty years before the southern churches of Scotland were wrecked, and after Henry VIII had forced England into schism and was robbing monasteries and churches wholesale. The fact is only one more proof of the staunch nature of Scottish Catholicism.

The completed building was one of much magnificence, as its very ruins testify. Its ground-plan was

¹ Wyntoun, *Orygynale Cronykil*, lib. ix., c. xii.

cruciform and its style of architecture Early English and Flamboyant. The western entrance, approached by an imposing flight of broad steps, was a great doorway deeply recessed and having a double portal. It was surmounted by a noble window 27 feet high, filled with rich tracery and flanked on either side by lofty massive towers, at present nearly 90 feet in height, and probably surmounted formerly by wooden spires. The nave was 100 feet in length and consisted of six bays of pointed arches, supported on clustered pillars richly carved. Beyond the aisles, on either side, were six chapels, something like those in Chichester Cathedral. There was a 'marriage porch' to the southwest. The short transepts had each one altar towards the east, that of SS Peter and Paul to the north and that of St Thomas à Becket to the south. At the point of junction rose a fine central tower. The choir of four bays had aisles terminating in chapels with altars, and beyond it was a Lady Chapel lighted by eastern windows of unusual beauty, consisting of two rows of five tall lancets surmounted by a wheel window. To the northeast stood a very fine octagonal chapter house, its vaulted ceiling supported on a central pillar; this latter was most elaborately carved with shields and various emblems of the Passion, and on one side was formed a stone book rest. The legend runs that this pillar was the work of an apprentice, whose master became so jealous that in his fury he murdered his talented pupil; for this reason the chapter house is often called the 'Prentice Aisle'. The same story is told of a famous pillar in Roslin Chapel near Edinburgh. The stone carving in Elgin Cathedral was more than usually ornate.

In Catholic times the services of the Cathedral of Moray were carried out with much solemnity. The choir, separated from the nave by a splendid rood-screen of carved wood, richly coloured and gilded, contained twenty-two stalls for canons and dignitaries. Every day three Masses were celebrated in choir, at which a goodly number of the clergy were present, clad in their surplices and black choir copes—close-fitting vestments with armholes¹—except on great feasts, when all wore silken copes of the colour of the day.² These Masses were: (1) The Lady Mass, sung after the office of Prime in the early morning, (2) the Chapter Mass for the dead, which might be a Low Mass, (3) the solemn High Mass of the feast, sung daily at nine o'clock. In 1331 there were seventeen resident chaplains, who received regular stipends for officiating at certain altars. Among these were those of the Holy Rood, Our Lady, St James and St Nicholas. In the churchyard, on the south side, was a detached chapel dedicated to St Thomas, which Thomas Fitz Ralph, Earl of Moray, founded with an endowment for five chaplains. These were required to celebrate five daily Masses: one of St Thomas—sung to note, others of the feast of the day, the Blessed Virgin, St John the Baptist, and the dead. The services of the Cathedral, as the ancient chartulary testifies, were carried out in accordance with the ornate ritual followed in the Church of Salisbury and known as the Sarum Rite; it was common to nearly all the Cathedrals of England and Scotland.³

The canons and prebendaries resided in the build-

¹ Pearson, *Sarum Missal*, p. lvi. (note).

² *Ibid*, p. lvi.

³ *Vide*, Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. II, p. 366.

ings known as the 'College'. These formed a spacious oblong about 900 yards in circuit, enclosed in a lofty wall containing four gates. Portions of the Bishop's Palace, Deanery and manses of the canons still remain, as well as many other ancient buildings and fragments of the bygone greatness of this now quiet little town.

It is to one of the bishops of this see, David (1299), that the Scots College in Paris owes its foundation. His successor continued and completed the work. Several others of the prelates of Moray figure in history as men of note. Bishop Winchester (1437-1458) was chaplain to King James II, and was sent as envoy to England. Bishop James Stewart (1459-1461) was Lord Treasurer; Bishop Tulloch (1477-82) was Keeper of the Privy Seal; Bishop Hepburn (1516-24) was Lord Treasurer.

The Cathedral of Moray escaped the molestation of 'reformers'; the last Catholic bishop held possession of his castle at Spynie, and when he died, in 1573, was buried in the choir of Elgin.¹ The beginning of the ruin of the beautiful building was in 1568, when the Privy Council ordered the lead to be stripped from the roof and sold for the support of the army.² When this had been accomplished the elements at once commenced the work of destruction. Yet, in spite of the state of the cathedral, Mass was offered in it by Father Gordon, uncle to the Earl of Huntly, in 1594. The Catholic nobles had defeated the Protestant forces under Argyll at Glenlivet a few months before, and the zealous priest on this occasion endeavoured by his powerful exhortations to sustain the courage of the Catholic party and persuade them

¹ Keith, p. 150.

² Shaw, vol. iii, p. 285.

to continue their resistance ; but recent reverses had chilled their ardour and they fled to the continent for safety.¹ This was the last Mass ever celebrated in Elgin Cathedral.

In 1637, 'upon the 4th of December, on the night, there arose an high wind, which blew down the couples,' (*i.e.*, beams or rafters) 'standing on the college' (*i.e.*, collegiate) 'Kirk of Elgin, whilk had endured many winds before, and never fell till now.'² Thus does an old seventeenth century writer chronicle the first disaster following on the stripping off of the lead seventy years before. It would seem, from his way of putting it, that the building stood deserted, cared for by none. Yet we know that such was not the case, for the Records of the Presbytery tell how even as late as 1640, Catholics were wont to steal into the sacred precincts to pray before the traces of the holy pictures which still remained in some part of the building.³ It was, doubtless, this fact that urged some of the more zealous Protestants to the act of iconoclastic zeal related by the writer already quoted. His account runs thus : 'Monday the 28th of December (1640), Mr Gilbert Ross, minister at Elgin, accompanied with the young laird of Innes, the laird of Brodie and some others, without authority brake down the timber partition-wall dividing the Kirk of Elgin frae the quire,' (this was evidently the rood-screen), 'whilk had stood ever since the reformation, near seven score years or above. On the west side was painted in excellent colours, illuminated with stars of bright gold, the crucifixion of our blessed

¹ Tytler, vol. iv (ed. 1864), p. 231.

² Spalding, p. 45.

³ Shaw, vol. iii, p. 285.

Saviour Jesus Christ. This piece was so excellently done, that the colours never faded, but kept haill (whole) and sound as at the beginning, notwithstanding this college or channery-kirk wanted the roof since the reformation, and no haill windows therein to save the same from storm, snow, sleet or wet, whilk myself saw; and marvellous to consider! on the other side of this wall, towards the east, was drawn the day of judgment; but all is thrown to the ground. It was said their minister caused to bring home to his house the timber thereof, and burn the samen for serving his kitchen and other uses; but each night the fire went out wherein it was burnt, and could not be kept in to kindle the morning fire, as use is! Whereat the servants marvelled; and thereupon the minister left off and forebore to bring in or burn any more of that timber in his house.’¹

Further havoc was wrought by Cromwell’s soldiers between 1650 and 1660; these worthies mutilated the carvings, especially the magnificent west window, and destroyed the figures of angels and saints which yet remained undisturbed. In 1711, on Easter Sunday, the central tower fell with a crash, burying nave and transepts in its ruins. It had probably been undermined by the removal of stones for their own use by masons of the town at various times. Luckily no one was injured by this catastrophe, although children and others had been previously walking about. For more than a century after that the place was a mere quarry for all who chose to carry off the stone, and the churchyard became a receptacle for rubbish.

In 1824 a certain John Shanks, described—inac-

¹ Spalding, pp. 223, 4.

curately, surely—as ‘an idle gossiping creature,’ was made custodian of the ruins. ‘He was a lank, spider-like being, with a quiet enthusiasm in his manner,’¹ and made the clearing of the ruins the work of his life. With his own hands he removed some thousands of cubic feet of earth, bringing to light the south porch, of which there had previously been no record, as well as the steps leading to the western entrance, the foundations of the pillars and many other portions, long buried under heaps of *debris*.² The neighbouring farmers, hearing of his praiseworthy efforts, lent horses and carts to help him. The result of his untiring labour was the exposing to view of the whole ground-plan of the cathedral, but the continuous exertion wore out the strength of the zealous custodian, who was an elderly man when he undertook the work. ‘The rubbish made an auld man of me,’ he said to Lord Cockburn after fourteen years of labour. He died aged 83, in 1841. Lord Cockburn wrote his epitaph, and the stone upon which it is engraved has been let into the boundary wall of the cathedral precincts, near the eastern end of the building. The epitaph concludes as follows: ‘For seventeen years he was the Keeper and the Shower of this Cathedral, and while not even the Crown was doing anything for its preservation, he with his own hands cleared it of many thousand cubic yards of rubbish, disclosing the bases of its pillars, collecting the carved fragments, and introducing some order and propriety. Whoso reverences the Cathedral will respect the memory of this man.’ No visitor who sees the admirable care with which the venerable ruins are

¹ Billings, vol. ii.

² ‘New Stat. Acct. of Scot.,’ vol. xiii., Elgin, p. 7.

now guarded and preserved can fail to endorse the eulogium. It was the interest excited in the discoveries made by the worthy custodian that led to a true appreciation of the picturesque remains.

A fairly complete idea of the original church may be gained by a careful examination of the portions which still exist. The western towers are still about 90 feet high and can be ascended by the original staircase. The greater part of the choir with its south aisle and the Lady Chapel are standing; they are quite roofless, but the tracery in some of the windows is almost perfect. A portion of the south transept with its altar is still in good preservation. The most entire of all the buildings is the beautiful chapter house, which is the only part retaining a roof. Attached to it is a small cloister containing a lavatory. It was here that a soldier's orphan child was cradled by a poverty-stricken mother in 1748. The boy grew up, entered the army, acquired promotion and considerable wealth, and after living several years in his native town died in London in 1824, leaving £70,000 to build and endow the 'Elgin Institution for the education of youth and support of old age'—a foundation whose charities are a boon to the town.

Besides the slab of blue marble, marking the burial place of Bishop Andrew, the original founder of the church, many other interesting monuments are to be seen. One is that of Bishop Innes (1414), another that of the Duke of Albany, beheaded in 1425 for rebellion against James I; the first Earl of Huntly (1470), and Bishop Winchester (1458) have also tombs here; the latter is under an arch which still bears traces of frescoed angels in red outlines. It was

here that Duncan, immortalized by Shakespeare in *Macbeth*, was laid to rest; by the generosity of King Alexander II, one of Duncan's descendants, a chaplaincy was founded in Elgin Cathedral to provide Masses in perpetuity for the repose of his soul.¹

BRECHIN

The Cathedral of the Holy Trinity at Brechin, in Forfarshire, was probably commenced when the see was founded by King David I, in 1150, and was added to at various periods of its history. At the time of its greatest glory, just before the Reformation, it consisted of a cruciform building measuring nearly 200 feet in entire length. Its nave of five bays was in later Pointed style of architecture, the arches being upheld on octagonal and clustered columns. The choir was about 84 feet long and had no aisles. This portion, together with the transepts, was in pure Early English style of pointed architecture. The choir contained stalls for the twelve canons who comprised the chapter and for the assistant clergy. The high altar was at the eastern end of the choir. In other parts of the church were altars to St Thomas the Martyr, St Ninian, St Christopher, St Catherine and others, besides those found in every mediæval church of importance to the Holy Cross and the Blessed Virgin.² At this latter altar, the *Registrum* informs us, a Mass of Requiem was celebrated every Wednesday for the founder of the chaplaincy. Other provisions for special Masses in perpetuity were made by various benefactors.

Exteriorly, as the portions still remaining show,

¹ Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings*, vol. i., p. 116.

² *Registrum Episc. Brech.* and Walcott *passim*.

this cathedral did not possess the imposing appearance belonging to some of the others. Its western gable is decorated with what architects call 'corbie' (or crow) steps, the stones being fashioned like steps leading to the apex. The west window, richly decorated in the style known as flamboyant, surmounts the noble carved arch of the doorway. The approach is rather spoiled by the great square tower which juts out aggressively at the northwest side, cutting into the western wall close to the head-mouldings of the door and window as though it had been added as an afterthought. This tower was built by Bishop Patrick (1351-73); it has narrow windows at the front and sides up to the height of the church, and above these, under the battlemented gallery at the top, are large windows—one in each face—with Early English tracery. An octagonal spire rises from the tower; the entire height is 128 feet. Attached to the southwest angle of the church, though originally built entirely apart from any other building, is the famous 'round tower' of Brechin, whose meaning and use have puzzled many antiquarians. It is 85 feet high and about 20 feet in diameter and tapers somewhat towards the top, which is surmounted by a short octagonal cap having dormer windows on four of its sides. The tower is built of a reddish grey sandstone; it contains two square window-openings at different heights, one facing south and the other east, and under the cap are four more of such small windows facing the cardinal points; with the exception of these it has no other lights. A doorway, whose sill is now six feet above the level, is in a semi-circular arch, surmounted by a defaced crucifix; a small statue stands on either side, about half-way up the arch.

This round tower is thought to have been built by Irish masons in the eleventh century.¹ In Catholic times two bells hung in it; they were transferred in the last century to the square tower on the other side of the church.²

Few historical events of importance are connected with Brechin Cathedral, though it was in the castle hard by that Baliol, 'the mere shadow of a king,' resigned his kingdom to Edward I, who claimed the authority of over-lord. The unfortunate monarch in presence of the Bishop of Durham and barons of England was stripped of royal robes, crown and sceptre and forced, 'standing as a criminal, with a white rod in his hand, to perform a humiliating feudal penance.'³

A few of the bishops of this see filled high offices; thus, Patrick de Locrys was Lord Chancellor in 1372 and John de Crannoch held that office in 1436. The latter was employed on an embassy to France for James I and also accompanied that monarch's daughter, the Princess Margaret, to her marriage with the Dauphin.⁴ It was probably on returning from this journey that he made a vow when on the sea to give two silver candlesticks to his cathedral upon his safe return. This vow he fulfilled by delivering six silver cups for the making of the same to John Lyall, the Treasurer of the church, on April 14, 1434, as the Register testifies.⁵ Bishop George Schoriswod was Chancellor of Scotland in 1458.

¹ An interesting notice of this tower is to be found in 'Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,' vol. iv, p. 188.

² *New Statis. Acct.*, Forfarshire, p. 133.

³ Tytler, vol. i. (ed. 1864), p. 46.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 85.

⁵ 'Regis. Episc. Brech.,' p. 60.

The last prelate who actually held the see previous to the Reformation was John Hepburn, who died in 1558. Donald Campbell, Abbot of Cupar, youngest son of Archibald, second Earl of Argyll, was nominated to Brechin by Queen Mary, but failed to receive Papal confirmation, and never assumed the episcopal title. He is said to have been in favor of the Reformation movement,¹ and as he took part without protest in the convention of 1560 which established Protestantism, the charge seems justified. He had been made Lord Privy Seal in 1554. On his death in 1562, John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, a zealous Catholic, was nominated to the see by Queen Mary, whose marriage with Lord Darnley he solemnized. He died in 1566 and may be reckoned the last of the Catholic Bishops of Brechin.

There is no record of any wilful destruction of the cathedral by the reforming party. The revenues of the see were granted in 1566 to Alexander Campbell, of the family of Argyll, who was a mere boy at the time. He alienated so much of the property that scarcely the 'moderate competency for a minister'² was left at his death, in 1606. From this we may conclude that neglect rather than violence was the cause of the decay of a large portion of the cathedral buildings. It would seem that Brechin during this period was scarcely a desirable place of resort. A contemporary chronicler says that in 1571 there was apprehended 'one that keepit ane hostelry at Brechin, who before, at divers times, had murdered sundry that came to lodge with him, the wife being also as

¹ Rogers, *Rental Book of Cupar Abbey*, Grampian Club, p. li, pref.

² Keith, p. 166.

busy as the man with a mell (*mallet*), to fell their guests sleeping in their beds.'¹ Truly, a gruesome hostelry!

The cathedral seems to have been made use of for Protestant worship from the period of the change in religion. In 1637 the bishop, Walter Whitford, like some other Protestant prelates and ministers, resolved to adopt the service-book drawn up for Scotland by Charles I and Archbishop Laud. He seems to have had little opposition from his people at first, although the minister refused to read the formula and the bishop was obliged to provide a substitute. But on a certain Sunday in November he met with a more hostile reception. The lower orders looked upon any 'form of worship' as akin to Popery, and had probably chafed under the infliction for a time, not daring to oppose. On this particular Sunday Bishop Whitford seems to have suspected a rising, for, according to a chronicler, he, 'when other feeble cowards couched, went to the pulpit with his pistols, his servants, and as the report goes, his wife with weapons. He entered early, when there were few people. He closed the doors and read his service. But when he was done he could scarce get to his house—all flocked about him; and had he not fled he might have been killed. Since, he durst never try that play over again.'² Indeed he had eventually to leave the kingdom and content himself with the slender revenues of an English country parish.

¹ Bannatyne's, 'Journal,' Chambers' Domes' Annals, vol. i., p. 78.

² Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, vol. i, 41. Quoted by Burton, *Hist. Scot.*, vol. vi, p. 450.

Brechin Cathedral has seen many changes in its time, but none so radical as the 'restoration' of the fabric carried out between 1805 and 1807. With a view to increasing the sitting accommodation, the church was subjected to the most barbarous deformation possible. The outer walls of the aisles were built considerably higher and fitted with common sash windows, and in the space thus contrived were placed deep galleries running round four sides of the building—for the chancel arch was blocked up. Besides these alterations the very bases and capitals of the pillars were cut away and some of the arches defaced. To complete the 'improvements,' as they were called, a flat plaster ceiling was made across the whole building, cutting off the upper part of some of the windows with their fine tracery and leaving only the plain stone mullions visible. In this way a beautiful Gothic building was transformed into a hideous meeting-house, crammed with pews and galleries and with a pulpit in the centre. It was a consistent carrying out of Protestant principles to remove all trace of altar and sanctuary and give prominence to preaching. It is a pleasing sign of the change that has come over Scottish Presbyterianism during the last half century that a vigorous movement was set on foot some few years ago towards the restoration of the venerable pile. One difficulty in the way had always been the insufficiency of church accommodation should the disfiguring galleries—the cause of all the deformation—be removed. Fortunately a former minister bequeathed money for the building of a new church in the town, and thus the path was clear towards the restoration of the cathedral on artistic

lines. The work begun in 1900 is now completed. The walls which had been raised in 1807 have been pulled down, the aisles rebuilt and all the interior excrescences cleared away. The choir has been again thrown into the church, after being renovated and roofed, and a new north aisle has been added. The cathedral, thanks to the generosity and good taste of its present owners, has been restored as far as possible in outward semblance to its original grace and dignity of architecture and form.¹

DUNBLANE

The see of Dunblane, Perthshire, was founded by King David I.² about the year 1140 by reviving the ancient bishopric of Stratherne.³ A Columban monastery had been formerly established there by St Blane, a saint of Bute, who had preached the Gospel in that part of Perthshire—hence the title.⁴ The records of the see have been lost, and some portions of its early history are buried in obscurity. The first bishop to whom we owe the beginnings of the fine cathedral whose remains are still to be seen was Bishop Clement, who ruled the see in 1233. He was a Dominican friar, of foreign origin, renowned for his learning, and is said to have received the habit of his Order from St Dominic himself.⁵ At the time of his appointment to Dunblane the diocese was in so wretched a plight that he made a journey

¹ For the above particulars, the writer is indebted to information courteously supplied by the Rev. W. W. Coats, B.D., parish minister of Brechin.

² Laing, *Historians of Scot.*, vol. ix, p. 246.

³ Robertson, p. 49.

⁴ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii, 403.

⁵ Robertson, *loc. cit.*

to Rome to lay the case before the Holy Sec. The revenues were in the hands of seculars; for the see, until restored by King David, had been vacant for more than a century, and no bishop had as yet succeeded in regaining his full rights. The church was ruined and desolate; its revenues were barely sufficient to support the bishop for half a year; there were no canons—merely a simple priest to say Mass thrice a week in the roofless church.¹ Pope Gregory IX, in answer to Bishop Clement's appeal directed the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld to raise funds from the various parishes of the diocese to place matters on a proper footing.² So energetic was Clement in the work of building his cathedral and reconstructing his bishopric, that during his twenty-five years of rule he was able to give to Dunblane 'a stately sanctuary, enriched with lands and possessions, served by canons and prebendaries.'³

The church, when completed, consisted of an aisleless choir measuring 80 feet in length and 30 in width, and a nave 130 feet long. There were no transepts; a square tower, rising to the height of 128 feet, stood on the south side of the church in the place which a south transept would have occupied. This tower, as is evident at the present day, was anterior to Bishop Clement; its lower stories are Norman in style and its upper stages of later work. It is probably the only remaining portion of King David's early church. The severe Early English choir was also built before the restoration of Bishop Clement. To that prelate we owe the fine nave of

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta Historica*, p. 35. Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, lib. x, cap. xi.

² Theiner, *loc. cit.*

³ Fordun, l, c.

eight bays in Pointed style. Instead of a triforium, a passage was constructed in the thickness of the wall, level with the clerestory windows, which were adorned with double arches and tracery so that the passage led between the two arches. These windows were remarkable for their beautiful tracery. The west gable had three very long and narrow windows placed close together, and these also had double tracery with a passage between. Over them was a small 'vesica'-shaped window surrounded on the outside by a carved fringe of bay-leaf ornaments arranged in zigzag fashion, their points touching. This window, which may still be seen, has received high praise, as a feature of singular beauty, from no less an authority than the late Mr Ruskin. In a lecture delivered in Edinburgh he thus alluded to it: 'Do you recollect the west window of your own Dunblane Abbey?' It is acknowledged to be beautiful by the most careless observer. And why beautiful? Simply because in its great contours it has the form of a forest leaf, and because in its decoration it has used nothing but forest leaves. He was no common man who designed that Cathedral of Dunblane. I know nothing so perfect in its simplicity, and so beautiful, so far as it reaches, in all the Gothic with which I am acquainted. And just in proportion to his power of mind, that man was content to work under Nature's teaching; and instead of putting a merely formal dog-tooth, as everybody else did at the time, he went down to the woody bank of the sweet river beneath the rocks on

¹ Dunblane was never an abbey except when the Columban monks were established there. It may be this connection that the lecturer had in mind at the time.

which he was building, and he took up a few of the fallen leaves that lay by it, and he set them in his arch, side by side for ever.¹

The Cathedral possessed at least eight altars. These bore the dedications of Holy Trinity, Our Lady, St Michael, St Blaise, St Nicholas, St Stephen and St Blane, and in addition there was the High Altar. Several of these altars had annual revenues for services and sustentation. Thus the High Altar was endowed by Archdeacon Newton, early in the sixteenth century, to secure a daily Mass there. Our Lady's Altar, also, as well as St Stephen's and St Blane's, had fixed revenues. That of St Nicholas was endowed in 1509 by Dean Walter Drummond, 'for the support of one chaplain to pray daily for the safety of the souls of the King,² the Queen, Prince Arthur, John, Lord Drummond (brother of the donor) and Elizabeth, the wife of the said John, and the late John Drummond, Dean of Dunblane.'³ There seems to have been also an altar and chaplain of St Fillan⁴ in the Cathedral.

The chapter consisted of a dean and some fifteen canons and prebendaries; amongst them, by virtue of their respective offices, were the Abbots of Arbroath and Cambuskenneth, while the Abbot of Inchaffray held the office of preceptor, equivalent to that of an English cathedral provost.⁵ In 1492, Pope Innocent

¹ *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* (new ed.), vol. ii, p. 410.

² This was James IV., who died at Flodden four years later. Prince Arthur died in 1510.

³ The particulars concerning the altars, as well as some other facts of information have been gathered from an unsigned article in the *Scotsman* of October 15, 1892, entitled *Dunblane and its Cathedral*.

⁴ Walcott, p. 203.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

VIII raised Glasgow to archiepiscopal rank and made Dunblane, together with Dunkeld, Galloway and Argyll, its suffragan sees.¹ Dunkeld and Dunblane, however, were restored to the province of St Andrews some few years later.²

The small, remote see was but rarely associated with great historical events. Edward I, in 1303, ordered the lead to be stripped from the roofs of the churches of Perth and Dunblane to provide for the siege of Stirling, but gave particular injunctions that those portions of the roofs that lay over the altars should be left undisturbed. Bishop Maurice, when Abbot of Inchaffray, was present at the battle of Bannockburn, where he acted as confessor to the Bruce and said Mass before the battle.

'Of Inchaфра the abbot of greit fame,
 Quhilk callit wes Mauritius to his name,
 Solempnitle that day ane mes sang he,
 In sic ane place quhair all the oist mycht se.'³

It was on this occasion that the relic of the arm of St Fillan, which the abbot had inadvertently left behind at his abbey, was miraculously brought (as the old historian relates) to fill the empty reliquary. The circumstance was regarded as a presage of coming victory. Bishop Michael Ochiltree, whose effigy is shown in the nave, adorned his cathedral with many gifts and built Knaig Bridge and a church at Muthill.

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 505

² Grub, vol. i, p. 388.

³ *Buik of the Cronicles of Scotland*, Rolls Series, vol. iii., p. 229. It may be as well to subjoin a version in modern English spelling:

'Of Inchaffray the abbot of great fame,
 Who called was Mauritius to his name,
 Solemnly that day a Mass sang he,
 In such a place where all the host might see.'

He crowned James II at Holyrood in 1437. Bishop James Chisholm (1488) was one of James III's chaplains. The last Catholic bishop, William Chisholm, was afterwards raised to the see of Vaison, in France, and became a Carthusian monk at Grenoble before his death.¹ The chartulary of Dunblane is said to have been carried abroad at the Reformation and has been lost sight of, consequently the information to be gained concerning the history of the cathedral is but meagre.²

The Bishop of Dunblane, being a noted opponent of the Reformation, was certain to bring on himself the vengeance of the Protestant party. Together with other prelates of like opinions he was deprived by the Parliament of August, 1560, of all right to tithes on lands leased out during the previous two years.³ No authentic record remains of the actual demolition of the cathedral, but as Dunkeld was systematically ruined there is every reason to suppose that Dunblane, in the same county, and only about twenty miles distant, met with a similar fate. At any rate, the choir was the only portion fit for use as a parish church after the Reformation: the nave was roofless and its very beams had been broken up for firewood, when, in 1588, the king had to be petitioned to save the building from utter destruction.

In 1633 Archbishop Laud, when in Scotland, passed by the ruined cathedral and was forced, in spite of its forlorn state, to pronounce it 'a goodly church.' A bystander remarked: 'Yes, my Lord, this was a brave kirk before the Reformation.'

¹ Keith, p. 180.

² Grub, vol. ii, p. 347 (note.)

³ Walcott, p. 204.

‘What, fellow!’ cried the prelate, ‘*Deformation*, not *Reformation*!’¹ It was a startling admission from a Protestant archbishop.

The choir, patched up in some form or other, continued to be used for Presbyterian worship till the year 1872. At that period it underwent a complete restoration at the cost of £2,000. The beautiful carved stalls of fifteenth century work which had previously formed part of the fittings were placed in the chancel and the building was renovated and decorated in many ways. The work of restoration did not stop there, but was continued for three years until the nave also was put into a state of complete repair. The cost of the whole work amounting to some £26,000 was defrayed by private generosity alone. The handsome building, though necessarily devoid of much that added to its beauty and interest in Catholic days, nevertheless affords some idea of what it must have been in its glory.

Many interesting monuments have been preserved. Among them are effigies of Bishop Finlay Dermoch (1419), the builder of the bridge over the Allan, and of Malise Earl of Strathearne and his Countess. Previous to repairs undertaken in 1817, three slabs of plain blue marble marked the resting place of three daughters of John, Lord Dummond. They were graves to which much interest was attached by reason of the sad fate of the unfortunate ladies whose bodies lay there. Eupheme, Lady Fleming, and Margaret and Sibylla Drummond were poisoned in 1501 by means of a meal of which they all partook, and were buried together in Dunblane Cathedral. The reason for the crime and its per-

¹ Grub, vol. ii, p. 87.

petrators have never been satisfactorily ascertained. Margaret, who was the mistress of James IV, is thought by some to have been privately married to the king, and to have fallen a victim to the jealousy of certain nobles who feared the exaltation of the family of Drummond by a public acknowledgment of the marriage. The matter, however, cannot be proved.

Dunblane, in these days, is a place of little consequence. In a work published half a century ago it is thus described: 'In the broad valley which separates the Grampian mountains from the chain of the Ochils, southward by a few miles of the green ramparts of Ardoch, where the Romans have left unperishing memorials of their far-reaching energy and enterprise, there lies a pleasant, sequestered, peaceful village, holding, by courtesy, the title of a cathedral city.'¹ Since that time there have been some few changes; the train now rushes the traveller through the pleasant scenery, and the station stands under the very eminence crowned by the grey tower of the Cathedral. Yet the place has gained very little by such changes; the centre of its life has long departed, and like the renovated church, which was the cause of such greatness as the little town could once boast of, Dunblane is but a helpless witness of what Scotland lost when she renounced the Catholic faith.

FORTROSE

The see of Ross was one of those founded by King David I; its existence dates from about the year 1128. The first cathedral was built at Rosemarkie on the western shore of the Moray Firth. It stood on the site of an ancient church raised by

¹ Billings, vol. ii.

the Irish St Boniface or Kiritinus, who evangelised the district in the eighth century. A new cathedral was erected about the beginning of the fourteenth century at a spot then known as Chanonry, situated about a mile from Rosemarkie on the other side of the promontory called Chanonry Point. The two little burghs were united by James II in 1444 into one town under the name of Fortrose.

The later cathedral, dedicated to St Peter and St Boniface, was a small building of rich red sandstone and is considered to have been of remarkable beauty. 'The style,' says a competent authority, 'is the purest and most elaborate Middle Pointed; and the whole church, though probably not 120 feet long, must have been an architectural gem of the very first description. The exquisite beauty of the mouldings shows that in whatever other respect these remote parts of Scotland were barbarous, in ecclesiology, at least, they were on a par with any other branch of the mediæval church.'¹ The building consisted of a nave 30 feet wide, of four bays with aisles 14 feet wide, a choir with aisles, an eastern Lady Chapel, a vaulted chapter house to the north-east and a western tower. There were small transepts and a turret over the rood-loft. The great east window was a particularly fine one of five lights.

An amusing local legend relates that the Moray fairies, envious of the splendid cathedral at Fortrose, constructed a road across the Firth and carried the church bodily to Elgin, translating the Elgin cathedral to Fortrose. When daylight surprised them at their work the 'little people' had succeeded in destroying the road with the exception of a

¹ Neale, quoted by Robertson, p. 74.

portion near the shore on either side. These portions are now known as Chanonry Point, near Fortrose, and Ardersier, the promontory near Fort George, on the Moray side. This is the Morayshire edition of the legend, but that current in Ross-shire says that the fairies were constructing the road at night when a Highlander, passing by, wished the work 'God-speed,' and thus broke the charm before the fairy workmen had succeeded in accomplishing more than is now seen in the two points referred to. The variety in the tradition illustrates the jealousy of the people for the renown of their particular cathedrals; those of Ross claiming for theirs the title of the more beautiful building and those of Moray declaring that in any case it had been transferred to them.¹

The chapter of the Cathedral of Ross consisted of a dean and six other dignitaries, with twelve canons and prebendaries and several vicars and chaplains. The residences of bishop and chapter, which gave the name of Chanonry to the neighbourhood of the cathedral and the small town which surrounded it, seem to have been worthy of the beautiful church. The last Catholic bishop of the see thus refers to them: 'The name of the Toune situat vpon the syd of the flirth, is named the Chanrie, quhair (*is*) the Bischopes Palice, nocht far distant frome the Channounis houses, in beutie, and magnificence, Inferiour to verie few with us.'²

Many of the lands belonging to the cathedral had

¹ *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scot.* Rosemarkie.

² Leslie, *Hist. of Scot.* from the M.S. translation from the Latin made by Fr. James Dalrymple, O.S.B., of the Scots Monastery of Ratisbon in 1596, and preserved at Fort Augustus Abbey.

been given for the benefit of the chaplains in common; others were endowments for particular altars. Thus in 1451 there is record of certain charters granted to the chapel of St Nicholas. In 1512, King James IV renewed a grant of lands for payment of the services of a perpetual chaplain in the church; in 1529, James V presented Sir William Spens to a chaplaincy founded by his predecessors—probably that referred to in the earlier document—and such presentations were made by the same king and by Queen Mary after him, as often as the benefice fell vacant. A chaplaincy of St Lawrence and another of St Boniface are alluded to in various deeds and many others existed bearing the names of the lands which furnished their revenues; thus there were the chaplaincies of Alnes (three in number), Obstull, Drummond, Navity, Munlochy, Kynnok, and others.

Some of the bishops are renowned in the history of the country. Bishop Elphinstone, founder of Aberdeen University, for example, was occupant of the See of Ross before he was translated to Aberdeen in 1484. Bishop John Fraser had been Abbot of the Cistercian house of Melrose. He was made a Privy Councillor in 1506. Bishop Robert Cairncrosse, formerly Abbot of the famous house of Austin Canons at Holyrood, Edinburgh, was made Bishop of Ross in 1534. He was a chaplain of James V and became in 1528 Lord Treasurer of the kingdom. On the death of the king he was made one of the Lords of the Council to the Governor, the Earl of Arran. Bishop Henry Sinclair had been in early life a great favourite with James V. He was a learned canonist and became vice president of the College

of Justice. But the most celebrated of all the bishops of this see was, undoubtedly, John Leslie. He had been educated at Aberdeen and Paris; in the latter university he took his doctorate. In 1560, when Official of Aberdeen, he was chosen by the Lords of the Congregation to discuss points of faith with John Knox at Edinburgh; nothing was settled by the discussion, but as Leslie was detained in Edinburgh and prohibited from preaching it would seem that the Protestant party were in fear of his powers. When Queen Mary was invited to return home from France, Leslie was sent by the Catholic party to place their loyal services at the Queen's disposal. He accompanied Mary to Scotland, and this was the commencement of a life-long attachment to his sovereign which was to make him famous in the history of his time. He was made Bishop of Ross in 1565 and continued to be the Queen's confidential agent till her untimely end. Imprisoned in 1572 by Elizabeth of England for his share in striving to bring about a marriage between the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk, he was banished the realm and visited the courts of France, Spain and Germany to ask help for his royal mistress, but without success. He went to Rome in 1575 and afterwards was named coadjutor to the Archbishop of Rouen, though he never enjoyed the dignity. The news of his Queen's tragic end caused him such grief that he gave up the world and retired to a monastery of Austin Canons at Brussels, where he died in 1596. He left behind him many valuable writings.¹

It would seem that the cathedral buildings were

¹ *Historical Records of the Family of Leslie*, vol. iii, p. 402-7.

long left unmolested during the troublous times of the Reformation period. Bishop Leslie obtained the see after the disastrous events in the southern parts of the country and seems to have been able to preserve his own with singular ability. Under James VI, however, the Cathedral of Ross had to suffer the fate of other churches of the same nature. In 1572, while the rightful bishop was in prison in England, William, Lord Ruthven, received a grant of 'the haill leid quhairwith the cathedrall kirk of Ros wes theikit alsweill principal kirk as queir and ilis thair-of,'¹ to sell or otherwise dispose of at his pleasure. The temporalities were bestowed upon Lord Methven in 1585. The stonework, doubtless much decayed in places by the weather, after being left roofless for nearly a century, was sacrilegiously carried off by Cromwell to build a fort in Inverness in 1653. In this way the whole of the bishop's palace and the greater part of the church were demolished. The only remains now to be seen are a portion of the south aisles of nave and choir and the detached chapter house. A soft-toned bell carried off by Cromwell, now hangs in the old square tower of Inverness High Church. It is said to have been the 'Angelus' bell. Several sepulchral monuments are still to be seen among the ruins. A canopied tomb of a lady, said to have been a Countess of Ross, who died in 1380, is pronounced by Neale, 'one of the most beautiful monuments I ever saw.'² The body of a bishop,

¹ *Orig. Paroch. Scotiae*, p. 572. An English version may be useful to readers unversed in Scottish idiom. 'The whole of the lead wherewith the Cathedral Church of Ross was roofed—the nave as well as the choir and aisles thereof.'

² *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 283.

supposed to have been buried more than 300 years, was found in one of the tombs in 1797, and is mentioned in the *London Chronicle* of 12th October in that year. In 1854, the same tomb, or that of another bishop was accidentally opened and an entire skeleton, swathed in beautiful silk and gold damask and clothed in silken robes, was found within it. In 1880, a hoard of 1,100 silver coins of the date of Robert III (1390-1404) was discovered in the cathedral precincts; the money had apparently been hidden there for safety during perilous times.

KIRKWALL

The cathedral of the diocese of Orkney, which at least one mediæval historian places next to that of Ross in the sequence of sees, was the church of St Magnus, Kirkwall. It enjoys the distinction of being the only Scottish cathedral which exists whole and entire in the present day and that, probably, by reason of its isolated situation on the distant island of the Orkneys known as Pomona or Mainland.

It is worthy of note that Kirkwall Cathedral, like that of Glasgow—the only other in Scotland which can claim anything like architectural completeness dating from Catholic times—rose over the body of a popular saint. St Magnus was the son of Erlin, the Norwegian Earl of Orkney. His family possessions being seized upon by his cousin Haco in 1116, a contest was imminent. Wishing to avoid bloodshed, Magnus agreed to meet Haco in the neighbouring island of Egilshay, so that the dispute might be amicably settled. But Haco treacherously brought with him an armed band and Magnus, after a night

spent in prayer and the reception of the Sacraments, to prepare for the end which he clearly foresaw, was barbarously slaughtered.¹ His nephew, Earl Ronald, in fulfilment of a vow, erected a bishop's see at Kirkwall and commenced the cathedral on his acquisition of the earldom of Orkney, about the year 1138. Magnus had been popularly proclaimed a martyr and received the honours due to one, and it was Ronald's intention to translate his remains from Birsay, where they had been laid, to the new church. The building, however, made such slow progress that the works had to be suspended for want of funds and Ronald did not live to see the completion of his design. The body of the martyr was eventually enshrined at Kirkwall, being removed from Christchurch, Birsay, the former seat of the bishopric, to the new cathedral. It is possible that this was done during Ronald's lifetime, as some suppose that he succeeded in building a portion of the choir and transept.

In course of time the new sanctuary gradually grew in size and splendour until it reached the noble proportions now to be seen. The church was the work of several successive bishops, assisted by alms from all the countries of Christendom—for the *cultus* of St Magnus had become widely spread—and the cathedral was not really finished till the early part of the sixteenth century.

Like Glasgow Cathedral, Kirkwall also is built on a cruciform ground-plan, but the transepts are longer than those of the former church. Its material is dark red sandstone with ornamentation in yellow stone in certain portions. Seen from the sea it looks

¹ *Vide* Pinkerton, vol. ii. *Vita Magni*.

almost as large as the whole town, dominating all other buildings by its massive proportions. In reality it is not an extensive church ; but its parts are so constructed as to convey to the spectator the impression of its being larger than it actually is. Its total length outside from east to west is 234 feet and its total width 56 feet. The square central tower had once a lofty spire, but it was destroyed by lightning in 1671, and a somewhat squat pyramidal roof has taken its place.

The interior is of striking grandeur. Its vaulted roofs are supported upon twenty-eight massive pillars ; those of the nave are grand circular columns, each measuring fifteen feet in circumference, and the arches are semi-circular. The choir is in somewhat later style, though Norman predominates ; some of the columns are clustered with carved capitals, but the arches are semi-circular. The east window, dating from about 1511, is of four lights in pointed arches, surmounted by a beautiful rose window ; it is thought to have been the contribution to the building of Bishop Edward Stewart. The three tiers of solid Norman arches rising on either side of the nave to the stone roof—for triforium and clerestory are of a like character—give an impression of severe but imposing grandeur. It adds to the perfection of the church that those who carried on the work in its successive periods preserved the character of the original architecture in all the chief portions ; they did not, as in so many other instances, continue the building in a style more recently introduced, as though to stamp their own individuality upon what they undertook. Hence, although experts can discover five different styles, to the ordinary observer

the church, taken as a whole, seems almost symmetrical — Norman, with few exceptions, predominating.

Kirkwall Cathedral cannot be considered as belonging to the Scottish Church until the fifteenth century ; for previous to 1472 the bishops of Orkney were subject to the Archbishop of Drontheim, since the islands belonged to Norway. When James III espoused Margaret, daughter of Christiern, King of Denmark and Norway, in 1469, the Orkney Islands were pledged to Scotland until the completion of the payment of the dowry bestowed upon the Princess by the marriage contract ;¹ as full payment was never made, the islands passed permanently under the dominion of the Scottish monarch and Orkney became a suffragan bishopric of St Andrews. Little is known of the history of the see, the earlier records having perished. Bishop Andrew, in 1486, procured the erection of Kirkwall into a royal burgh with the right of holding courts and having fairs and markets. Bishop Robert Maxwell, in the following century, provided the three fine-toned bells which still hang in the tower, and fitted the choir with stalls. During his bishopric, in 1540,² James V visited in person all the remoter portions of his dominions, including the Orkney Islands, twelve vessels having been prepared and furnished for the voyage. The King 'was gratified on reaching the Orkneys by finding these islands in a state of greater improvement and civilisa-

¹ Tytler, vol. ii, chap. vi.

² Walcott, probably following Keith, gives 1536 as the date, but this is impossible. The Treasurer's Accounts for June—Aug. 1540, contain the expenses of the expedition, and Tytler in a note to his History (vol. ii, chap. ix.), proves conclusively that it was in that year.

tion than he had ventured to expect.'¹ The bishop, as Leslie informs us, entertained the royal party nobly. 'Robert Maxuel,' says the quaint translation of Fr. Dalrymple, 'than Bischop in thir partes, receiuet the King and al his cumpanie with ane honest table and all sygnes and taiknes (*tokens*) of beneuolence, Honestie and Humanitie.'² Bishop Maxwell died in that year, or early in the next, as his successor, Bishop Reid, was recommended to the Pope by James V in a letter dated 5th April 1541.³

Robert Reid, the most distinguished occupant of this see, had been educated at St Andrews University, and in 1526 was made commendatory abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Kinloss, in Moray, receiving the abbatial blessing three years later. He was appointed in 1530 commendator of Beaulieu Priory in Rosshire, and continued to act as superior of both houses even after his nomination to the see of Orkney. He was a man of more than ordinary ability and filled many important functions of state under James V, who frequently consulted him in important affairs. In his two monasteries he was zealous for learning as well as discipline and employed the learned Ferrarius to instruct the monks in classics. In his episcopal city he founded a school for boys, and left in his will funds towards the establishment of an university in Edinburgh, and though nothing was accomplished towards that end for some years after his time, he is justly regarded as the real founder of that institution. Besides adding some important features to Kirkwall Cathedral, Bishop Reid built a

¹ Tytler, vol. ii, chap. ix.

² Dalrymple's Leslie, Fort Augustus MS.

³ Stuart, *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss*, pref., p. li.

fine tower to the bishop's palace, where his statue is still to be seen. He re-constituted his cathedral chapter, since it had become much disorganised and had dwindled to six canons and six chaplains whose status was altogether undefined. Under the new arrangement it consisted of seven dignitaries—dean, archdeacon, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, sub-dean and sub-chanter or organist—together with seven other canons, thirteen chaplains and six singing boys.¹

The cathedral escaped the wholesale destruction which befell so many ecclesiastical buildings at the unhappy period of the Reformation; the probable reason of this, as before remarked, was its distance from the mainland of Scotland. It was, however, at one time, in danger of demolition from other causes. In 1614 Patrick Stewart, Earl of Orkney, son of an illegitimate son of James V, assumed a kind of independent sovereignty in the island, and when called to account instigated a rebellion which was eventually crushed by the Earl of Caithness. During the struggle the cathedral, one of the rebel strongholds, was nearly destroyed, and it was only at the earnest entreaty of the Protestant occupant of the see that the Earl of Caithness was induced to spare it.

The revenues, when episcopacy was no longer tolerated in Scotland, having become the property of the crown, it became difficult to provide, from time to time, for the necessary repairs, which in so large a building entailed no inconsiderable expense. Many appeals were made to the government for help, but

¹ The details of this interesting foundation, the last of the kind before the overthrow of religion, may be found in *Hist. of Beaully Priory*, by E. Chisholm Batten, appendix No. xxv.

they appear to have had no result. In 1805 a private benefactor generously provided a small annual sum towards the purpose, and thus it was possible to keep the venerable cathedral in some sort of repair.' In 1845 the government expended some £3000 in restoration of the building. After the Reformation unsightly pews, galleries, screens and the like had been erected for Presbyterian worship; these were cleared away. During the operations the tombs of two of the bishops were discovered—one of them being that of the very first known occupant of the see, Bishop William. Ten years later it was decided that the choir of the cathedral belonged to the city, and the Town Council and other representatives at once proceeded to undo all that had been done. The pews were restored, the screen re-erected between choir and nave and some of the pillars were actually painted yellow. The finely carved structure known as the 'Earl's Pew,' on the south side of the choir, probably built from some ancient screen or episcopal throne, was removed bodily, and worse than all, the bones of Bishop William, which again came to light during the alterations, were carted off as rubbish!

Since this last 'restoration' no further alterations have taken place; the choir, with its unsuitable furniture, still serves the purpose of a parish church, and though the people of Kirkwall are proud of their ancient cathedral, they are inclined to lament the cost necessarily incurred for even the decent preservation of so large a structure.

It is a subject for grateful recognition that through all the centuries the body of the martyr saint of Orkney has reposed undisturbed under the shelter of

¹ Billings, Kirkwall.

the glorious building raised to his honour by the devotion of the peoples of Europe. It matters little that the exact spot wherein the sacred treasure was deposited can no longer be identified, it has certainly never been molested. May we not hope that like the treasure it contains and on account of it, the shrine also has been divinely guarded—and that with distinct purpose—from the spoiler's hand. It would seem as though the body of the martyr of Orkney, like that of Glasgow's apostolic bishop, Kentigern, had merited the signal preservation apparent in both cathedrals; may it presage the restoration of the venerable sanctuaries to the worship for which they were built by the revival within their walls of Catholic rites!

DORNOCH

The quaint little grey town of Dornoch, the seat of the bishopric of Caithness, stands on the north side of the mountain-girt Firth of Dornoch, nearly opposite the town of Tain on the southern shore. It has dwindled down to little better than a village, though it was once the centre of ecclesiastical life for all the surrounding district. Its name, according to one derivation, signifies 'Horse's Hoof.' It is said that when a Danish chief made a descent on the coast in 1259, the Earl of Caithness, who was taking part in the defence against the invader, had the misfortune to break his sword. In default of any better weapon he seized the leg of a dead horse from the battle-field and with it slew the leader of the Danes. Tradition points to the site of the King's Cross at Embo, about a mile from the town, as the scene of the occurrence, and a horseshoe figures prominently in the arms of

the burgh, in memory, as it is believed, of the extraordinary victory.

The see of Caithness was originally founded during the reign of Malcolm III, the husband of St. Margaret, about the year 1066. The chief church of the diocese was at one time a small building dedicated in honour of St Finbar, an Irish saint of the sixth century, who laboured as a missionary in Scotland. It remained for the holy Bishop Gilbert de Moray to build at his own cost a more worthy cathedral and to constitute a chapter.

Bishop Gilbert was a member of the noble family of Moray, being the son of William, Lord of Duffus. He filled the see for twenty years, to the great edification of his flock. His life was illustrious for miracles, and after his death he was honoured as a saint—the last Scot placed upon the Calendar before the Reformation.

The church raised by the bishop was a cruciform building, consisting of a nave with aisles, transepts, central tower and low spire. It measured about 126 feet in length and 97 feet across the transepts. In style it was Early English, with massive circular pillars. The good bishop worked with his own hands in the erection of the cathedral and superintended the manufacture of the necessary glass for the windows at his glassworks at Sideray.

St Gilbert formed his chapter on the model of that of Lincoln, the rite of that church being followed in the ceremonial of the services. The dignitaries and canons numbered ten and there were in addition many vicars choral or minor ecclesiastics to assist in the celebration of the sacred offices. On account of the close connection between the Abbey of Scone and

Caithness, the abbot of that house was always a canon of the chapter, though he was dispensed from the duty of residence.

We gain some idea of the state of things before St Gilbert's time from the fact that three of his immediate predecessors in the see were either burned or stoned to death by the half-savage people over whom they tried to rule, in revenge for what was looked upon as an excess of zeal in the carrying out of their pastoral duties. Bishop Adam, his predecessor, who was rigid in the exaction of his ecclesiastical dues, was shut up in his house by an infuriated mob at Halkirk, in 1222, and burned to death there. Alexander II, then on his way to England, turned back at the news of this barbarous outrage and marching to Dornoch, took summary vengeance on the delinquents; no less than four hundred persons, who had been concerned in the murder, were punished with death on the occasion.¹ Such were the people upon whom St Gilbert's saintly life and generous benefactions were to produce such a wonderfully civilizing effect. The holy bishop died in 1245 and was buried beneath the central tower of his cathedral. A century after, the church which he had designated St Mary's had become known as that of St Mary and St Gilbert.

Some particulars concerning the more important bishops who filled this see may be of interest. Bishop Alan, thought by some to have been an Englishman, was made Lord Chancellor in 1291. He swore allegiance to Edward I, who at that time was claiming superiority over Scotland. Bishop Andrew Stewart, who had been previously Abbot of Fearn, held the

¹ *Vide Tales of a Grandfather* (Scott), vol. i., chap. 5.

see in 1490. He became Lord Treasurer of the kingdom. Robert Stewart, brother to the Earl of Lennox, was appointed bishop in 1542, while a young man of 25. He was not even a priest, nor did he ever become one, for being implicated in the rebellion of his brother, he was obliged to absent himself from the kingdom for more than twenty years, and on his return he joined the party of Reformers and became a Protestant. He, nevertheless, enjoyed the revenues till his death. It will be amusing to Catholics to learn that although a married man and with no pretence to Orders, he was named as one of the consecrating bishops in the ceremony of the consecration of the Protestant occupant of the see of St Andrews in the year 1571. This Robert Stewart succeeded his nephew in the earldom of Lennox in 1576, but resigned in favour of a grand-nephew, receiving instead the title of Earl of March.

Pope Pius II conferred upon the cathedral church of Dornoch the special privilege of Sanctuary. By a Bull, granted early in his pontificate, he declared that, in honour of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Gilbert, the space of three miles in all directions around that church should enjoy 'a certain sacred immunity.' James III, in 1464, 'at the pious and just request of his counsellor, William, Bishop of Caithness, and his clergy, and desiring to sanction and defend the same sacred immunity,' commanded all to preserve it inviolate.¹

Few occurrences of general historical interest can be related of this see, up to the period of the Reformation. Some three hundred years after its completion, the cathedral was set on fire in a fray between the Morays and the Master of Caithness

¹ *Regis. Mag. Sigil.*, Rolls Series, 1464, No. 802.

and was almost entirely destroyed. This happened in 1570. The tower and a few ruined arches, the sole remains of St Gilbert's building, received some additions, through the generosity of the Earl of Sutherland, in 1614, to enable the church to serve as a place of Protestant worship. The Earl had received from James VI in 1601 the grant of all the lands of the bishopric.

The restored building was afterwards modified to make it more suitable for Presbyterian use by the addition of a wooden floor, about seven feet above the ground; a flat ceiling and a gallery were constructed in 1816, so that little resemblance was left to St Gilbert's original church. In 1835 the Duchess of Sutherland began a restoration, upon which some £6000 were expended. 'The work,' says Dr Robertson, 'unhappily was not entrusted to competent hands;' the result is, as another authority describes it, 'a mixture of Gothic and Vandalism.'

The square tower of the Bishop's Palace was converted into the County Jail. A strongly vaulted building to the north of the choir, supposed to have been the chapter house, was long used as a prison.

The relics of St Gilbert were preserved and venerated up to the Reformation; for in 1545 John Gray of Kilmaly, Marquhard Murray and Walter Murray 'swore on the relics of St Gilbert' and 'deponed on their oath, touching the same relics,'² in the chapter house of the cathedral, to clear themselves of charges brought against them. A mutilated statue, supposed to represent the saint, is still to be seen at Dornoch.

¹ Robertson, p. 49.

² Orig. Paroch., p. 609.

WHITHORN

The foundation of the see of Galloway dates back to the time of St Ninian, who was consecrated bishop by Pope St Siricius and sent to preach the Christian faith in that district towards the end of the fourth century. The first stone church ever built in the country was that raised by the saint after the fashion of the buildings he had seen in Rome. It stood on the promontory now known as the Isle of Whithorn, about three miles from the town of that name. Its gleaming white walls—probably plastered with lime—gained for the humble sanctuary the name of Whithern ('white house'), a designation which extended to the surrounding district in later ages and is still perpetuated in the official title of the see of Galloway—*Candida Casa*—as well as in the corrupted form of the old Saxon name borne by the town of Whithorn.

St Ninian called his church after St Martin, the great Bishop of Tours, whom he had visited on his way from Rome, who had supplied him with masons for the work and who had passed to his heavenly reward while the church was building which was destined to become a model of ecclesiastical architecture and a theological centre for the kingdom of the Southern Picts.

The original building raised by St Ninian no longer exists. A small chapel, afterwards built on its site, perpetuated its memory; some ruins of the latter may still be seen. Another church was probably erected by the saint on the spot where the remains of the mediæval cathedral still stand. In

this second church his body was enshrined after death.

It was under the auspices of the devout King David I that the see was formally erected. Fergus, Lord of Galloway, founded at Whithorn a monastery of Premonstratensian or White Canons, in 1143, and these canons were constituted the cathedral chapter by King David. The cathedral erected in the twelfth century is now in so ruinous a condition that it is difficult to determine its style or dimensions. The nave, which is the only portion remaining, is without aisles and measures about 75 feet in length and 38 in width. The total length of the building must have been some 225 feet, independent of the western tower. The church was terminated by a Lady Chapel and there were extensive transepts, for the foundations of one of them, in twelfth century architecture, have been laid bare in recent years. The tower was surmounted by a steeple, which fell early in the eighteenth century. Eastern and western walls were built to the nave to fit it for the use of the Presbyterian community as a place of worship, and thus the original style of the building has been entirely changed. Extensive crypts still exist under the choir and eastern portions. The conventual buildings must have been of considerable size, but merely traces of their ruins, covering a large extent of ground, are now discernible.¹

The glory of Whithorn consisted in the shrine of St Ninian, the apostle of the district. To his tomb flocked crowds of pilgrims from England and Ireland

¹ These details are gleaned from the carefully restored ground-plan of the cathedral in vol. x, p. 171, of *Archæological Collections of Ayr and Wigton*.

as well as from all parts of Scotland. So popular was the saint that Whithorn became the most famous of the Scottish pilgrimages during the Ages of Faith. It needed special legislation after the Reformation to curb the expression of their love for such shrines on the part of the people ; in the seventh Parliament of James VI an act was passed forbidding such visits ; ‘ for the second fault, the offenders to suffer the pane of death as idolators.’¹ Such a cruel and iniquitous law was the most effectual preventive of the continuance of pilgrimages to Whithorn or any other Scottish shrine.

The conventual building attached to the cathedral met the same fate as those belonging to other religious orders, and the church itself, unsuited to the requirements of Presbyterianism, was left to decay. While but a small portion of the building was made use of for that purpose, the remainder became, as in too many other cases, a mere quarry for building-stone, at the mercy of any one who chose to carry off materials for his own use. Whatever may have befallen the sacred relics enshrined there, we know that at least an arm of St Ninian escaped the wreck of everything sacred at the disastrous period of the Reformation. Such a relic, through the efforts of the Countess of Linlithgow, a faithful Catholic, assisted by an ecclesiastic named Alexander Macquarry and Fr. Alexander Seton, a Jesuit, was safely conveyed to the Scots College at Douai.² Its subsequent history, owing to Revolution troubles, is unknown.

Few of the bishops of this see were men of unusual distinction. Bishop Thomas (1296) swore fealty

¹ Acts of Parl., James VI, October 24, 1581.

² Hunter-Blair, vol. i, p. 14.

to Edward I, but, like so many other Scottish ecclesiastics of that period, promptly veered round to the Bruce when he came to power. Alexander (1426), who is called by the historian Boece, a noble and learned man, 'vir nobilis et eruditus,' was employed in an embassy to England. He is said to have resigned his see in 1451. His successor, Thomas Spens, a man of great prudence, was also of service to his sovereign in a similar way; besides assisting to negotiate the marriage treaty of the Duke of Savoy with Princess Annabella, sister to James II, he was one of the ambassadors to England to conclude a truce in 1451. He was soon after created Keeper of the Privy Seal. The See of Galloway was vacant at the time of the Reformation; Alexander Gordon, Bishop designate, not having been consecrated. This man promptly embraced the doctrines of the Reformers; he married, and left the revenues of the see to his son, to whom they were confirmed by royal charter.¹

The diocese of Galloway possessed in the beginning but slender revenues, though the offerings of the numerous pilgrims to St Ninian's tomb contributed largely to its yearly income. James IV, however, annexed to it in 1504 the deanery of the Chapel Royal at Stirling, and some years later added the possessions of the abbey of Tongland, another house of White Canons in Galloway.

It is difficult to realise the glories of this once famous church, for nothing is left of the fabric but a mere heap of ruins, in addition to the little ivy-clad chapel, which represents the former nave of the cathedral. Yet in the middle ages, before heresy

¹ Keith's *Scottish Bishops*.

had stripped it of all beauty and stateliness, it must have witnessed many a gorgeous pageant. The later Scottish kings were conspicuous in their devotion to the shrine which it contained. James IV made frequent pilgrimages to Whithorn during the whole of his reign. The Treasurer's Accounts of his time give many particulars of these visits. Thus we learn from that source that the king left Edinburgh in September, 1497, taking the usual route by Biggar, through Upper Clydesdale, and across Nithsdale and on to Whithorn by way of Wigton. At the shrine, besides his usual offerings, he gave £10, a considerable sum of money in those days, for Masses for himself. The next April he was there once more. In April, 1501, he again visited the shrine, passing through Kirkcudbright, where he gave a donation to the church and presented the friars with £5, 12s. to enable them to buy a Pyx. In the following June he was once more at Whithorn; in August 1502, April and May 1503, June 1504, July 1505, April 1506 and again in August of the same year he visited St Ninian's and performed his accustomed devotions. In 1506, when his queen, Margaret Tudor, was in danger of death at the birth of her first-born son, James made a pilgrimage on foot from Edinburgh to Whithorn to pray for her recovery. In the following July, both king and queen repaired to the same shrine to return thanks for the favour granted in the restoration of Margaret to health. Their majesties were accompanied by a numerous retinue; the queen travelled in a litter and no less than seventeen horses were employed for the transport of her wardrobe and the furniture of her chapel. James V in like manner made fre-

quent pilgrimages to the shrine and in a style of equal magnificence.

It is from the Treasurer's record of these royal visits that we learn incidentally of a miracle which the saint obtained for one of his clients; in one of the pilgrimages of James IV that King gave 18s. in alms to an English pilgrim who had been favoured with a cure. From all this, Whithorn's popularity is clear; the renown of its shrine and the high standing of the Order of Canons who served as its ministers are proofs that it must have held an important place among Scottish cathedrals in its time. But like its material remains, its records too, are of the scantiest. It is left to the imagination to picture with what skill it may the scenes which might have been witnessed in its hallowed precincts in days gone by—the crowds of fervent worshippers, the brilliant retinues of royal or noble pilgrims, the solemn and stately celebration of the daily choir offices by the canons of the chapter, in their graceful robes of furred white serge. But, like all scenes of mere earthly splendour and beauty, these, too, have passed away, never, perchance, to be renewed.

LISMORE

The see of Argyll had its origin in the thirteenth century. It has already been mentioned in the account of Dunkeld Cathedral, that one of its bishops relinquished that part of his territory in which Gaelic was spoken, in order that a new diocese might be constituted. The Holy See, accordingly, erected the bishopric of Argyll, the Gaelic-speaking ecclesiastic Harold, chaplain to the prelate of Dunkeld, being

appointed its first bishop. At first the seat of the new bishopric seems to have been in the district of Muckairn, near Loch Etive. Later on, however, the Bishop of the Isles petitioned for the severance of the island of Lismore from his diocese, that it might form the seat of that of Argyll ; this was, accordingly, done in 1236.¹

Lismore is an island of Loch Linnhe, ten miles long and less than two miles broad. Its name, which signifies 'The Great Garden,' designates the extreme richness of its soil ; for it is a fertile region amid districts of comparative barrenness. An ancient church dedicated to St Moluag, the original Apostle of the island, stood on the seashore, marking the spot where that saint had first landed. Its remains are still pointed out. The cathedral of St Moluag was erected further inland, about three miles from the northern end of the island. From the small portion that remains, it appears to have been built in the fourteenth century ; it may well be, therefore, that it superseded either the old church on the shore or another on the present site. Originally its dimensions were 137 feet in length by 29 in width ; at the present day the existing building measures no more than 56 feet long and is thought to be merely the choir of the old cathedral. One authority, it is true, entertains the opinion that the church was never larger than at present. Dr Robertson speaks of it as 'perhaps the humblest cathedral in Britain.'² A local parish minister, however, writing in 1789, alludes to the church as the former choir and states

¹ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 409, and Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 33.

² *Abbeys and Cathedrals*, p. 78.

that in 1749 it was repaired and lowered in height. Its style of architecture he describes as fourteenth century decorated.¹

There are traces of chapter house and sacristy on the north-east side and the piscina and sedilia are still remaining in the sanctuary near the site of the former altar. The ruins of a castle, once the residence of the bishops, are to be seen in the vicinity of the church.

The third prelate of this see, Bishop William, was drowned in a storm in 1241, when he had ruled the diocese only one year. No successor was appointed for the space of seven years. When, at length, Pope Innocent IV, in 1249, directed the bishops of Glasgow and Dunblane to take steps for filling the vacancy, he desired that the seat of the bishopric should be removed to a more convenient spot than 'that island in the sea' upon which it was then situated, since, on account of the stormy channel which separated it from the mainland, and which it was impossible to cross without danger, the island was practically inaccessible. This mandate, however, must have been afterwards retracted, for it was never carried into effect.

About the middle of the thirteenth century a regularly constituted chapter was established. It consisted of dean, archdeacon, chancellor, precentor and treasurer, together with a certain number of canons. From the manuscript antiquarian notes of Fr. Augustin Hay, a Canon Regular of the eighteenth century, we gain some idea of the canonical dress worn at the choir offices. In the summer it consisted

¹ Letter of Rev. D. McNicol, quoted in *Orig. Paroch*, vol. ii, part I.

of a linen surplice with an almuce (a small tippet with a hood attached) over the shoulders. During the winter months this was changed for a long linen surplice or alb, reaching to the feet and over it a violet choir cope. The usual choir copes of canons and collegiate clergy were of black material; the chapter of this cathedral enjoyed the special privilege of wearing violet, which had been forbidden to ordinary ecclesiastics by one of the Councils of the Church.

It may be noticed that one of the deans of this chapter, Sir James Macgregor,¹ was the author of a Latin chronicle relating to the Highlands up to the year 1542. The manuscript of this work, still preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, is contained in a volume comprising a miscellaneous collection of prose and poetry in Latin, Scottish and Gaelic; the pieces in the latter language are considered to be the oldest specimens in existence of the written language of the Scottish Gael.

The church at Lismore was suffered to fall into ruins after the Reformation, only the small portion which probably formed the original chancel being reserved for the purposes of Presbyterian worship.

On the church glebe there formerly stood a small building which gave the right of 'Sanctuary' to anyone who should take refuge within it when flying from pursuers, even though they should be the lawful representatives of justice.

Some curious customs prevailed at Lismore in later times which are worthy of notice here. The ancient burying ground is situated on a knoll near the old

¹ *Sir* was the ordinary title in the middle ages of a priest who had not taken University degrees.

church. At the summit of the rising ground formerly stood a stone cross, whose pedestal is still to be seen, though the sacred symbol itself has disappeared; the place, nevertheless, is commonly known as 'The Cross.' Here, up to the beginning of the last century, it was the custom to proclaim the banns of marriage pertaining to the parish. The friends of the contracting parties used to assemble on Sunday morning and amid the cheers of the company the clerk would make the necessary announcements. The assembly would then adjourn to a public house and spend the whole day in drinking, which not infrequently ended in fighting. It has always been the custom here to celebrate marriages in the church and never at the house of the bride's relatives, as in some parts of Scotland.

A curious practice prevailed at Lismore, some fifty years back, with regard to baptisms. As a rule, they formerly took place on a week-day and all the persons present were regarded as sponsors. The father of the infant went round to everyone and placed the child in the arms of each in succession. This custom has probably disappeared in later times.

An interesting relic of Catholic Lismore is in the possession of the Duke of Argyll. This is the pastoral staff of St Moluag, the patron of the old cathedral. A small freehold property, formerly twelve acres in extent, but latterly only six, was held for centuries by a family named Livingstone in recompense for the custody of the relic, which was known as the *Bachuill More*; from this circumstance the Livingstones were called in the district the 'Barons of Bachuill.' The staff is of wood with a curved head; it was originally covered with plates of copper which

were probably gilt. The metal, with the exception of small fragments, is now torn off.¹

Lismore possesses Catholic memories of post-Reformation date, as well as those of an earlier period. Bishop John Chisholm, vicar apostolic of the Highland District with the title of Bishop of Oria (1792-1814), established a small seminary on the island for the education of clerical students. He died there in 1814 and was buried at Lismore. His brother, Aeneas, was consecrated at the seminary in 1805 as coadjutor, with the title of Bishop of Diocesarea; he also died at Lismore and was buried there in 1818.² The seminary was amalgamated by Bishop Paterson with that of Aquhorties in Aberdeenshire, the two establishments being transferred to Blairs near Aberdeen in 1831. Very few, if any, Catholics are now to be found upon the island.

IONA

The last in order of all the Scottish cathedrals, that of Iona, became the seat of a bishopric only a few years before the overthrow of the Catholic religion in Scotland. It was in 1498 that James IV petitioned Pope Alexander VI to annex the see of the Isles to the abbacy of Iona; henceforth the dignities of bishop and abbot were to rest upon the same person.

The circumstances which led to the change were these. The see of the Isles, founded about the year 838, comprised all the western islands, including the Isle of Man. As these formerly belonged to Norway, they continued under the jurisdiction of the Norwegian Metropolitan, even after their transference to Scotland

¹ Hunter-Blair, vol. ii, pp. 365-6.

² *Dictionary of National Biog.*

in 1266. When, in the fourteenth century, the Isle of Man, the seat of a bishopric, was seized by the English, the cathedral of St German was lost by Scotland, and this led to the establishment of a Scottish bishop for the remaining isles, Man becoming subject henceforth to the English ecclesiastical authorities up to the period of the Reformation. The English title of the see, perpetuated even in Protestant times, is Sodor and Man. This is a remnant of the old state of things; the islands lying below Ardnamurchan Point, on the west coast of Scotland, had always been known as the 'Sudreys,' to distinguish them from the 'Nordreys' or northern islands, and hence the bishop became known as the Bishop of Sodor. The addition to the title was made when Man was separated from the rest.

Whether Iona was at once made the residence of a bishop is not certain; it was not till 1498, as we have seen, that the Holy See was asked to erect the abbacy into the bishopric of the Isles and by 1506 this had been accomplished.

Iona, as is well known, derives its renown from the great Irish apostle of Scotland, St Columba. On Whitsunday, A. D. 563, he landed with his companions on that bleak, unsheltered island off the coast of Argyll, which was destined to become the centre of Christian teaching and practice for the whole extent of country north of the Grampians. The monastery established by St Columba existed for six centuries. Early in the thirteenth century the island passed into the hands of Benedictines. Reginald, Lord of the Isles, founded an abbey for them and Pope Innocent III approved of the foundation in 1203.

The abbey church, destined in after years to be

raised to the dignity of a cathedral, was built of red granite brought from the neighbouring island of Mull. It consisted of nave, choir and transepts; for the ground-plan, as in most monastic churches, was cruciform. There were no aisles, but on the south side of the choir were side chapels separated by pillars and arches. In extreme length the building measured some 148 feet, the nave and choir being of almost equal proportions. The transepts were 70 feet long. The massive square tower was about 70 feet high.

The great variety of styles to be detected in the architecture of the church shows it to have been built, bit by bit, at different periods, from the thirteenth century onwards. In the days of its glory the sculptured ornaments of the pillars of the choir and those supporting the central tower must have been among the most striking features of the church. One of the capitals bears the representation of the temptation of our first parents, another, their fall and expulsion from Paradise; the Crucifixion, the seizure of our Lord in the garden, the Last Judgment and Heaven seem to be the subjects portrayed on others.

The tower, which is now roofless, but otherwise almost perfect, forms a conspicuous feature of the buildings as viewed from the sea. Its windows are of uncommon design; one side is lighted by a cluster of quatre-foils in a square frame, another by a wheel window.

The Reformation, bringing the downfall of Catholicism in Scotland, occurred about fifty years only after the establishment at Iona of an episcopal see. Tradition tells of much destruction on the island of Catholic emblems and sacred treasures at the hands of fanatics.

Beyond one or two stray manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, all records have vanished.

A proof of the veneration in which the island was held is to be seen in the fact of its having become a favourite burial place for royalty. It is said that no less than forty-eight Scottish kings (including Shakespeare's Macbeth), four Irish, and eight Norwegian monarchs found a resting place in the cemetery there.

In the latter part of the 17th century Iona came into the possession of the Argyll family, with whom it has since remained. The 8th Duke took a great interest in the sacred spot and its antiquities. In 1873 he employed an architect to visit the ruins and report upon their condition; in consequence of the suggestions made in the report, many restorations were carried out for the better preservation of the venerable pile. The foundations of chapels hitherto covered by accumulated rubbish were cleared, many excavations and repairs made in the monastic buildings that yet remained and the whole of the ruins put into a state of decent order.

At the present day the walls of the choir are in pretty good condition, though the nave is more dilapidated. Within the precincts are several interesting tombs. On the north side of the altar is that of Abbot Mackinnon, who died in 1500. On the south side is that of Abbot Kenneth McKenzie, eleven years earlier in date. McLean of Ross has a tomb in the choir and McLeod of McLeod also.

Iona on account of its connection with St Columba, retains its interest for those who have no love for the Catholic Church. The following extract from the

pen of an American Episcopalian minister is a curious instance of the effect of bigotry in blinding the mind to the clear teaching of history: 'It affords an exalted and tranquil pleasure to rest in the shadow of such ruins—to search with a filial affection in the faint remembrances of ages for the venerable, but alas, fading forms of the Fathers of that Faith, which itself is the evidence of things that are not seen. . . . Seven centuries roll away and the unseen has given place to the visible. Towers, arches, altars, crosses, buttresses and palaces have covered the iron-bound coast of the island of Columba's cell. . . . The simple Faith which was built upon the Rock of Ages is obscured by a mortal homage, offered in a magnificent cathedral built upon the sand! Behold it there nodding to its downfall! . . . The pure Faith, of which Columba, about thirteen centuries ago, was the northern apostle, lives and prevails, and by the power of its childlike simplicity shall conquer the world, while the magnificent monuments of a visible religion, though hardly seven centuries old, have already crumbled.'¹

The amazing assumption that the religion taught by St Columba was identical with Protestantism is not more amusing to a Catholic mind than the insinuation that the crumbling ruins of the 'magnificent cathedral built upon the sand' (not by any means a happy simile, for it stands higher than any other building on the island) are the result of mere neglect on the part of the followers of 'the simple . . . the pure Faith,' because they despise all outward grandeur of worship. History is the witness that the ruins are the result of wanton and deliberate

¹ Gordon, *Ecccl. Chron.* iii, p. 575-6.

sacrilege and affirms that the Faith taught by Columba, the Irish monk, was identical with that of the builder of the more modern cathedral. Both the one and the other would agree in their opposition to the opinions of the above writer.

Iona Cathedral has seen a temporary restoration of Catholic rites more than once since the Reformation. In 1888, a pilgrimage of Scottish Catholics, led by the Bishop of the Isles, celebrated in the ruins by Pontifical Mass, the memory of the great St Columba. A second pilgrimage which resorted thither in June 1897, in honour of the thirteenth centenary of the saint's death, found the cathedral partially roofed, to render it more fitted for divine worship, on the occasion of a Presbyterian service held there a few days before, and the Pontifical Mass was accordingly offered in more decent surroundings than had been previously possible.

The sacred edifice has since undergone more substantial restoration to fit it for Presbyterian worship; for the 9th Duke gave it to the Church of Scotland; however much one may regret that an ancient Catholic sanctuary should be made over to the use of a religion alien to that for which it was founded, the cathedral will, at least, escape the degradation of becoming once more a grazing ground for cattle, as in past ages.

It may be that this recent building-up of the youngest of the old Scottish cathedrals is intended in the providence of God to pave the way to a more perfect renovation, when a church beautified by the art of man shall receive its crowning glory in the restitution of Catholic rites within its walls in perpetuity. This, at present, seems as far off as

ever; yet God's hand is not shortened, and that which looks but a dream, hopelessly impossible of fulfilment, is surely within His power. Scottish Catholics can still hope and pray that Iona, together with the other cathedrals of ancient days, may yet see within their walls the revival of the sacred rites for whose celebration they were erected.

II—COLLEGIATE CHURCHES

MANY of the ancient churches scattered about Scotland, and still used for Presbyterian worship, together with many others that have wholly or in part disappeared, present points of history which are worth recalling. At the time of the overthrow of the Catholic Church in Scotland, there were as many as forty ecclesiastical establishments known as collegiate churches. It is of these we propose to speak briefly in this chapter, for there is much that is of interest to others as well as Catholics in the scanty records that remain concerning them.

It may be well in starting to explain what a collegiate church really was, and how it differed from an ordinary parish church. The Latin word *collegium* signifies a body of persons collected together for the performance of some special duty. With regard to the churches in question, the *collegium* or 'college' consisted of a number of clergy attached to each; these were known as canons, and at their head was a dean or provost. The duty of these canons was to carry out with proper solemnity all the services of the particular church to which they belonged.

At first sight, and from the point of view of modern days, it may appear that six, or eight, or even more canons constituted a larger proportion of clergy than one church—and that, in some cases, situated in an obscure locality—could find employment for. It must be borne in mind, though, that our Catholic fore-

fathers, in circumstances differing greatly from those in which we are situated in these days, did not regard utility so much as we are bound to do in our more or less straitened resources. They looked first of all to the increase of God's glory in their benefactions to the Church. With abundant means at their command they were lavish in their gifts to God, deeming it a privilege to be permitted to return to Him some part of that which He had so generously bestowed upon them.

The founders of such collegiate establishments, therefore, had chiefly in view not so much the providing of a church where the people dwelling near might worship God and receive the Sacraments, as the raising of a temple of praise. Sometimes, indeed, a parish church was made collegiate; but in many instances the clergy serving a collegiate church had no parochial charge. Their chief duty was the public worship of God. Sometimes an educational institution or an almshouse was under their care; but it was never allowed to interfere with the regular and daily celebration of the services for which their church had been founded.

The centre of Catholic worship, it is needless to say, is the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. The canons of every collegiate church made it their first duty to celebrate a sung Mass daily, at which all were bound to be present. Its solemnity would vary with season or feast. On the more important festivals a deacon and subdeacon would assist; sometimes, according to the injunctions of the rubrics, there would be two sung Masses on the same day, or even three. Then, in course of time, endowments would be made to procure certain private Masses, for the souls of those

departed and the like ; these would have to be celebrated by certain of the canons appointed for the purpose. In some cases, as will be seen later, the number of clergy was increased in course of time, in order to provide a sufficient number to fulfil such obligations. The particular altars in a church were often endowed with a yearly income large enough to support the priest who was required to say Mass there on certain specified occasions, or even daily.

But though the Mass was the chief act of daily worship in such churches, it was not the only one. The Divine Office is the official prayer of the Catholic Church and is intimately connected with the Mass of each day. The special collect appointed to be said in the Mass forms part of all the chief portions of the Office, and the same is the case with many other of the varying lessons and verses from Holy Scripture, collected in the Missal. This Divine Office had to be chanted by the canons in their church, in its integrity, every day without fail. On solemn occasions it would be sung to the accompaniment of the organ, as regards the chief portions of it, at least ; on ordinary days it would be recited on a high sustained note by all in unison.

In these days, when, owing to the comparative fewness of the clergy the services of the Catholic Church are unavoidably shorn of much of the solemnity due to them, many persons have often but a hazy idea of what the Divine Office is. They know that a priest is bound to recite certain psalms and portions of Scripture every day, which is familiarly spoken of as 'saying Office,' but beyond that fact they know little else. It is important to know that the clergy are thus fulfilling their solemn obligation of offering the

daily worship of the Catholic Church. Just as no priest is at liberty to please his own fancy as to the particular saint he will honour each day, but must follow in every detail the arrangement prescribed by authority, so he is bound to recite the particular prayers, psalms and other parts of Scripture, specially appointed for that particular day. The Office which every priest and cleric in Holy Orders recites privately, was originally drawn up to serve as public worship. It is still thus celebrated in monasteries, even in these countries, and in cathedrals also, when the clergy are sufficiently numerous; though in many cases, in Protestant lands such as ours, such public celebrations is restricted to days on which the members of the chapter hold their official meetings. When this country was Catholic, not only in cathedrals, monasteries and churches such as those of which we are treating, but in ordinary parish churches on Sundays and festivals, as regards its chief portions at least, the Divine Office was publicly celebrated.

It would be out of place here to treat this matter in detail; it will be sufficient to say that the seven 'Day Hours' and 'Matins,' or night office, would occupy the canons for at least two or three hours of each day, and still more on the greatest festivals, as will be seen from examples later on.

It is scarcely necessary to dwell on the reasons which animated those who founded the collegiate bodies of Scotland in the choice of such institutions, rather than monasteries, as the object of their benefactions. It is enough to say that such foundations had become popular, and that they could be effected at a less pecuniary sacrifice than the endowment of a religious house; persons of moderate means were able

in this way to do almost as much for the public worship of God—setting aside the good work of providing for religious vocations—as kings and nobles, in earlier centuries, had done at far greater cost.

Before speaking in detail of some of these institutions, it will be well to give in tabulated form a list of those which flourished in Scotland, arranged under the various counties, with the date, when possible, of each foundation.

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCHES OF SCOTLAND

ABERDEEN.	St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, 1441 ; King's College, Old Aberdeen, 1505 ; Kennethmont.
ARGYLE.	Kilmund, 1442.
AYR.	Maybole, 1371-1441 ; Kilmaurs, 1403.
BANFF.	Cullen, 1543.
DUMBARTON.	Dumbarton, 1450.
FIFE.	St. Andrews : (1) <i>St Mary's</i> ; (2) <i>St. Salvator's</i> , 1458 ; (3) <i>St.</i> <i>Leonard's</i> , 1512 ; Crail, 1517.
FORFAR.	Fowlis Easter, 1446 ; Guthrie, 1479
HADDINGTON.	Dunbar, 1342-92 ; Yester, 1418- 21 ; Dirleton, 1444-46 ; Dunglas, 1450 ; Seton, 1493.
INVERNESS.	Abernethy, about 1460.
KIRKCOUBRIGHT.	Lincluden, 1400.
LANARK.	Bothwell, 1398 ; Carnwarth, 1424 ; Hamilton, 1450-62 ; Glasgow, 1528 ; Biggar, 1545.
MID-LOTHIAN.	Dalkeith, 1406 ; Corstorphine, 1429 ; Roslin, 1446 ; Crichton, 1449 ; Edinburgh : (1) <i>St. Mary's</i> ; (2) <i>Holy Trinity</i> , 1462 ; (3) <i>St.</i> <i>Giles'</i> , 1466 ; Restalrig, 1487- 1515.
PERTH.	Methven, 1433-39 ; Tullibardine, 1446.
RENFREW.	Sempil, or Lochwinnoch, 1504.
ROSS.	Tain, 1487.
STIRLING.	Stirling, 1501.

It is worthy of notice that the earliest of these foundations occurs in the 14th century, and that the others came into existence during the two following centuries, up to the eve of the Reformation. This is only one proof out of many that the violent change of religion in the 16th century was not even anticipated, much less desired, by the bulk of the nation. Some details may now be given concerning some of the more important of the above churches.¹

DUNBAR

This one claims first mention because it was the first to be founded in the country. It was also the most liberally equipped. Patrick, Earl of March, was its founder in 1342. He endowed it for the support of a dean, an archpriest, and 18 canons, by the gift of certain lands and churches. The right of presentation to a vacant benefice, on the death of a canon, was reserved to the founder's family. The church, built on a cruciform ground-plan, was 123 feet in length, and measured 83 feet across the transepts. It stood on a hill, 65 feet above the sea. The ancient building has disappeared; its site is occupied by a modern Presbyterian church in Gothic style.

BOTHWELL

A collegiate establishment was founded here in connection with the existing parish church by Archibald, Earl of Douglas, surnamed 'The Grim,' in 1398. The description given of this fierce warrior by Froissart, the old chronicler, would scarcely lead one to suppose that he would show any great interest in ecclesiastical matters. He is styled 'a worthy knight

¹ *Vide* Chalmers, *Orig. Paroch.*, and Walcott, *passim*.

and much dreaded by his enemies'. Of his sword it is related, 'Its blade was of two ells; scarcely could another man raise it from the ground, yet he wielded it with ease. He dealt such heavy blows with it that wherever he reached he overthrew. Before him the hardiest of the English army shrank.' Yet this grim old soldier provided endowments for the sustenance of a provost and 8 clergy to serve the church of Bothwell, which bore the dedication of St Bride, the chosen patron of his family. The provost was rector of the parish. The canons had each a residence, consisting of a house and yard, in the neighbourhood of the church; though the buildings had disappeared in 1795, a writer of that date says that the old names 'Vicar Yard,' 'Prebend Yards' still designated their sites. The word 'prebend' signified the share in the endowment annually due to each of the clergy of the establishment in question; it has led to the use of the term 'prebendary' to denote one who enjoyed such an income.

The founder was buried in the church of Bothwell after his death; no monument to him is now to be seen in the ruins. Marjory, the earl's eldest daughter, was married in the church in 1400, to David, Duke of Rothsay, eldest son of Robert III. A modern building was erected in 1833, to serve for Presbyterian worship, near to the site of the ancient church, which was in use up to the year 1795.

One of the provosts of Bothwell became Bishop of Dunkeld, and in 1449 was made Lord High Treasurer of Scotland; this was John Ralston. Another, George Hepburn, held the same office of state, and later was appointed Bishop of the Isles; he accompanied James IV to Flodden Field in 1513, and there perished.

LINCLUDEN

Uchtred, son of Fergus, Lord of Galloway, founded here a monastery for Benedictine nuns in the 12th century. He was buried in the church in 1174. Two hundred years later the same Archibald the Grim, who had made Bothwell church collegiate, and who was Lord of Galloway, expelled the nuns on the plea of their 'insolence'; changing the character of the institution by obtaining permission for its erection into a collegiate church. Historians are at a loss to account for such arbitrary proceedings against the nuns. It was left for Major, a 16th century writer, to conjecture that there were far graver charges proved against them. Dr Hill Burton, however, a writer by no means favourable to Catholics, says that Major 'volunteers to speculate that they must have been conspicuous for incontinence, otherwise the good earl would not have expelled them'. On so slight a foundation, first suggested two centuries after the event, Protestant historians still perpetuate the calumny against an ancient religious community. A noteworthy exception to the rule is to be found in the learned Chalmers. Speaking of Earl Archibald, he remarks; 'His object appears to have been less religious than interested. He founded a collegiate church as a more commodious means of providing for the numerous dependents of the Douglas family, while they remained Lords of Galloway.'¹ It is noteworthy that the earl added nothing to the original endowment when he changed the nature of the establishment.

At its first constitution Lincluden college con-

¹ Caledonia, *Kirkcudbright*, sect. viii.

sisted of a provost and 12 prebendaries. In later centuries it underwent a change; at the period of the Reformation it had 8 prebendaries only, but 24 poor almsmen and a chaplain formed part of the establishment. Provision had been made for the latter by Margaret, daughter of Robert III and widow of Archibald, Duke of Touraine, 4th Earl of Douglas. This lady was a generous benefactress to the house. She was buried there, and her much mutilated tomb may still be seen. From a description given of it by a traveller of the 18th century, it must have been then in a more perfect state; it is spoken of as very beautiful.

The church is now ruined and roofless, but it was evidently a building of great beauty in its prime. The portions of the vaulted roof remaining have been compared with the style of the roof of King's College, Cambridge. The residences of the canons have all disappeared, except a portion of that used by the provost. Considerable remains of a finely planned garden were to be seen as late as two centuries ago. At the present day little else is worthy of notice in the precinct grounds except an artificial mound of considerable height, ascended by a spiral path. From its summit the writer remembers gaining a striking view of the surrounding landscape. More than twenty years after the Reformation, Mass was said there at Christmas, in open defiance of the Kirk, under the auspices of Lord Herries.

MAYBOLE

In 1371 a chapel was founded here by Sir John Kennedy, and dedicated in honour of Our Lady. It stood not far from the parish church. The founder

provided for the support of a small number of chaplains whose duty it was to pray for the welfare of the founder, his wife and their family, during life and after death. In later times this establishment developed into a collegiate church, to which belonged the land now occupied by the present town of Maybole. At the Reformation the Earl of Cassilis took possession of the revenues, allowing a third part to the provost and canons for their respective lives.

This church, also, like that of Lincluden, is memorable as having had Mass celebrated in it after the Reformation had proscribed the worship of the Catholic Church. On 19th May 1563, two hundred armed men under the leadership of the Catholic Kennedys, who were afterwards prosecuted and imprisoned for their breach of the law, prevented any interference on the part of the Protestant authorities, while the Holy Sacrifice was offered for the last time, as it proved, within its walls.

YESTER

Sir William Hay of Locherwart founded here about 1421 a collegiate church for a provost, 6 prebendaries, and 2 singing boys. This church is the same as that sometimes called St Bothan's, from its titular saint.

CORSTORPHINE

In the reign of James I Sir John Forester founded a chapel in the churchyard of this place and dedicated it to St John the Baptist. In 1429 it was made a collegiate church served by a provost, 4 prebendaries and 2 singing boys. At the Reformation it

was made use of as a parish church. It still exists though greatly spoiled by a so-called 'restoration' in 1828. It is cruciform in plan, with a small western 'Galilee' and low tower with a short spire. The interior has been entirely changed. The chancel forms a vestibule, and a door has been broken through where the altar stood. The nave and transepts have been transformed into a bare meeting-house. There are still to be seen sedilia and a piscina in the former chancel. The exterior is much carved with the arms of the founder—three bugles; the ancient part of the roof is formed of large flagstones.

ABERDEEN

The ancient town which stood where Aberdeen does now, was known by the name of St Nicholas; for its parish church, dedicated to that patron of sea-faring men, gave the place its title. After Edward III had given the town to the flames, and it had been rebuilt, about 1336, it gained the name of New Aberdeen. The church of St Nicholas occupied the site of what are now called the East and West Churches. In its original form, however, it was utterly unlike either of those buildings. It was a splendid Gothic church, 200 feet long, with nave and aisles of nine bays, and choir of seven bays. The transepts, giving the building its cruciform shape, measured 100 feet, from north to south. Under the apse which terminated the east end was the crypt of Our Lady of Pity. A massive tower, at the junction of nave and transepts, contained some fine bells.

Within the church were as many as 31 altars. Among their dedications were those of Holy Cross,

Our Lady, St Michael, St Peter, St John, St Clement, St Laurence, St Nicholas, St Ninian, St Duthac and St Catherine. The spacious choir was separated from the transepts by a rood-screen of carved work, and had stalls, at a later period, for the accommodation of thirty-four clergy.

In 1441 Bishop Law made this fine church collegiate. Henceforth the Office of the Church was carried out regularly and solemnly until the Reformation swept away all such pious institutions.

The Council Register of the burgh witnesses to the interest shown by the magistrates in their parish church, of which all the citizens had good reason to be proud. Many entries show that the municipal authorities were liberal benefactors to St Nicholas', in granting funds for its repair and adornment, and in supplying the necessities for carrying out Divine worship in a becoming manner. Thus when they wished to obtain the help of God and the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and St Nicholas, to free the town from pestilence, and protect it 'from the old enemies of England,' they levied a tax for the restoration of the fabric, and for providing 'song-books for our choir, copes, frontals for the altar . . . vestments . . . chalice, Mass-book, and all necessary things for the adornment of the said high altar, church and choir'. The touching simplicity of the expression 'our choir' betrays a sense of gratified ownership, pleasing to find. Regulations concerning the appointment of officials—organists, chanters, choristers, and the like—are further evidence of the zeal for the due performance of the sacred offices in their church shown by the magistrates in those Christian ages.¹

¹ *Aber. Burgh Records, Spalding Club, passim.*

After the Reformation, Presbyterianism had no use for a church of such dimensions; henceforth there would be no altars needed, no stalled choir where the canons should daily sing God's praises, no roomy sanctuary for the orderly and majestic observance of mystic ceremonial, no aisles for the solemn march of stately processions: space for a pulpit for the preacher and seats for his audience sufficed. So the most sensible thing seemed to be the building of a solid wall in place of the rood-screen, to provide two complete places of worship. Thus the choir became the East Church, the nave, the West, and the transepts, henceforth to be known as 'Drum's Aisle,' and 'Collison's Aisle,' respectively, formed a convenient vestibule. Both churches have been since rebuilt, so that nothing remains to show what the old collegiate church of St Nicholas had of glory and beauty.

FOWLIS EASTER

No particulars remain of this foundation, except that it owed its origin to Angus, 2nd Lord Gray of Fowlis, in 1446. The little Gothic church, 89 feet in length, is chiefly remarkable for the remains of some unusually fine paintings in oil, which have been discovered upon its carved rood-screen. One who had examined these minutely, has thus described them: 'Marking the boundary of the chancel, a screen is carried across the whole width of the church, and on its west side are some singular and well-executed paintings in oil of ancient date, done on oak panels, representing the Crucifixion, the Blessed Virgin Mary with the Infant Saviour, St John the Baptist holding in one hand an *Agnus Dei*, to which he is pointing with the other; a dead Christ, St

Peter, and other single figures of both sexes. The picture of the Crucifixion, which is the largest of the series, represents Jesus suspended between the two thieves and surrounded by the chief priests, soldiery, and a miscellaneous throng of attendants and spectators, among which is one with a ruddy countenance expressive of sardonic joy and wearing a cap fashioned like that found on the head of the ancient court fool.'¹

It has been conjectured that the whole wall-surface of the church was once decorated in a similar way, and that the paintings were destroyed at the Reformation by tearing down the plaster. The screen was merely coated thickly with whitewash; thus the pictures upon it were preserved, to be discovered about the middle of last century. Their style suggests the work of an artist of the Flemish school.

ROSLIN

About seven miles distant from Edinburgh, stands the building popularly known as Roslin Chapel. It is the only portion completed—consisting of choir and Lady Chapel—of the collegiate church of St Matthew, founded in 1446 by Sir William St Clair, Baron of Roslin and Earl of Orkney. Fr. Hay, the noted Scottish antiquarian, who belonged to the same family, thus speaks of the spirit which animated the pious founder. 'His age creeping on him, to the end that he might not seem altogether unthankful to God for the benefices he received from Him, it came in his mind to build a house for God's

¹ *Ancient Par. and Colleg. Churches of Scot.* (London, 1848), p. 135.

service of most curious work ; the which that it might be done with greater glory and splendour, he caused artificers to be brought from other regions and foreign kingdoms, and caused daily to be abundance of all kind of workmen present : as masons, carpenters, smiths, barrow-men, and quarriers, with others.'¹

It is probable that the founder was his own architect. His liberal wages brought the most skilled workmen to his aid from other countries as well as from all parts of Scotland. The style of the church is highly ornamented Gothic, unique of its kind in Scotland. The building is comparatively small, consisting only of choir, with aisles, and Lady Chapel beyond, towards the east. Its entire length is not more than 70 feet. Almost every portion of stone that could be so adorned is covered with elaborate carving. The effect is rich in the extreme, though competent authorities on architecture do not regard the style as pure Gothic, and criticise the excess of decoration. The details, nevertheless, are beautifully finished, and give evidence of the skill of the workmen employed. Figures of angels and saints, representations of incidents in Bible history, flowers, foliage, animals, grotesque human forms are everywhere to be seen. The vaulted roof itself is covered with carved ornamentation. Beneath the church are the burial places of the St Clair family. Many of the barons were buried in armour without a coffin, and some such remains are still to be seen.

The founder endowed the church with lands and revenues sufficient for the support of a provost and

¹ *Genealogie of the Saint Claires of Rosslyn*, pp. 26, 27.

6 prebendaries, with 2 choristers. Many succeeding barons gave additional endowments. In 1523 Sir William St Clair provided for dwelling houses and gardens for the canons, and mention is made at that time of four altars in the church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, St Peter, St Andrew and St Matthew. The small portion of the contemplated building which is now to be seen was not finished by the founder, but by one of his sons.

Roslin Church did not suffer greatly at the Reformation. It was left for a mob which wrecked the castle, in 1688, to do much damage to the ecclesiastical buildings also. After remaining in a desolate state for nearly a century, it was restored and put into proper condition by General St Clair in the 18th century. The Earls of Rosslyn have expended large sums since on its renewal. Since 1862 it has been in use as a place of worship for Scottish Episcopalians. Roslin Chapel is one of the chief show places in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

CRICHTON

The church of SS Mary and Kentigern, originally the parish church, was made collegiate in 1449 by William, Lord Crichton, Chancellor of Scotland. The founder endowed the establishment for the support of a provost, 8 canons, and 2 singing boys. The church was never completed. At the Reformation it consisted of chancel and transepts only, with a square tower; the nave had not been commenced. The building still serves as a parish church, but, according to Presbyterian usage, has been greatly disfigured by so-called 'improvements.' In 1513 the then provost was chosen as a member of the

council appointed for the assistance of the Queen-Dowager, Margaret Tudor, in the government of the realm. The last of the provosts, Sir Gideon Murray, kept possession of the lands at the Reformation, whose tenets he embraced.

HAMILTON

In 1450 James, 1st Lord Hamilton, erected the parish church into a collegiate establishment, endowing it for the support of a provost and 6 prebendaries, in addition to the 2 chaplains already attached to it. He caused a new church to be erected, together with manses for the residence of the clergy, and provided the latter with gardens and glebes. At the completion of the new church, Pope Pius II granted the confirmation of the new institute in 1462. After the Reformation the whole property reverted to the Hamilton family. The church continued to be used for Presbyterian worship until 1732, when a new one was built for the purpose. The old edifice was destroyed with the exception of one aisle, which served as a family burial place. That portion was also pulled down when a mausoleum was built in the grounds of Hamilton Palace, one arch alone being left, which was later on removed to another site.

EDINBURGH

(1) *Holy Trinity*.—In 1462 Queen Mary of Gueldres, widow of James II, erected on the west side of Leith Wynd a beautiful Gothic church, and endowed it for a provost, 8 prebendaries, and 2 singing boys. A hospital was attached for the reception of 13 poor men. The full title ran, 'To the

Holy Trinity, to the ever blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, to St Ninian, Confessor, and to all the saints and elect of God.' The church consisted of choir, transepts and central tower; it possessed features of unusual richness and beauty, some of the windows being particularly fine. The queen died in the year following the foundation, and was buried in the church. After the Reformation the building served as a Presbyterian place of worship. At various times it underwent what was considered 'improvement.' The floor was raised nearly to the level of the bases of the piers, the pier arches were built up and galleries erected. Much was done that 'all but utterly ruined the appearance of the building without rendering it a whit more capacious or convenient,' says a writer of 1848. 'All that seemed to be sought for,' he continues, 'might have been secured by a much simpler arrangement, and at one fifth of the cost, had common judgment been exercised on the occasion; but nothing goes so laboriously and expensively to work as bad taste!'¹ Soon after this stricture was passed, the church was pulled down to make room for the Waverley Station. The stones were marked with a view to re-erection upon another site, but after a long lawsuit the idea was given up. The body of the royal foundress was removed to the vaults at Holyrood.

One of the provisions made by the Queen at the erection of this collegiate establishment was that every prebend should go after Mass in his vestments to her tomb, and there recite the psalm *De profundis* for her soul.

(2) *St Mary's, Kirk of Field*.—No record remains

¹ *Ancient Par. and Coll. Churches of Scot*, p. 17.

of the date of the foundation or the name of the founder of this collegiate church. It stood on the site occupied by some of the University buildings at the present day. It had endowments for a provost and 8 canons, with 2 choristers. Two chaplaincies were added in James V's reign. Its name denoted its position outside the original boundaries of Edinburgh. In 1562 Queen Mary granted the establishment to the magistrates for a school, and twenty years later the University had its first beginnings there. It was in the house of the former provost of the collegiate church that the unfortunate Darnley met his death. The ruined building, repaired after the catastrophe, was used as the residence of the Principal of the University, and was in existence until 1803. Its site is now occupied by the University Library.

(3) *St Giles*.—In 1466 the magistrates of Edinburgh procured the erection of this splendid church, the pride of their city, adorned and enlarged under successive kings, into a collegiate establishment. St Giles was one of the most important of the Scottish collegiate churches; besides a provost, a dean, and 16 prebendaries, the staff of clergy included a number of chaplains whose duty it was to celebrate Mass at the thirty-six altars of the church. Four choristers, under a choirmaster, formed part of the establishment. As the recognised parish church of the city, St Giles was the centre of Catholic life in Edinburgh. The many trade guilds had each its appointed altar and chaplain, supported by the members of the guild, and it was the pride of each of these Catholic organisations to contribute liberally towards the splendour and dignity of the worship of God.

The fabric of St Giles in its present condition, fine as it is, gives but a faint idea of the magnificent and spacious church of Catholic ages. What is now known as the south aisle was originally constructed in the form of three vaulted chapels, opening out of the south side of the nave. These chapels once numbered five; two of them were destroyed in 1829, in the process of a so-called 'restoration.' The chapels were built at the expense of the municipality between 1387 and 1416. At about the same period the 'Albany aisle' was erected on the north-west; it took its name from the Duke of Albany, a liberal benefactor to the buildings. In 1460 the choir was further extended towards the east, and the 'Preston aisle' added to the south. The former work was carried out through the generosity of James II; the latter owed its origin to William Preston of Gortoun, who had obtained for the church, through the interest of the French king, the precious relic of the arm-bone of St Giles, and the magistrates as a sign of gratitude built the aisle to form a chapel for the shrine. A chaplain was also provided to say Mass there for the soul of the donor. The 'Chepman aisle' was the last addition to the fabric before the Reformation; it was built out from the south-west corner of the 'Preston aisle,' and the donor, the first Scottish printer, was buried beneath it.

Much of the actual structure of these chapels and other additions may still be seen, it is true; but their furniture and decorations have given way to Puritan prejudice. One cannot realise fully what a splendid picture the interior of St Giles must have presented, when all these chapels and chantries were resplendent with storied windows, silken draperies,

paintings, lamps, candelabra of precious metals, and altar furnishings of costly and artistic kind.

Still more desolate was the state of this noble church after the Reformation had stripped it of Catholic emblems. For a few years it served as the cathedral of Edinburgh, at the time of James VI's attempted restoration of Episcopacy. But later on it was partitioned off into four places of worship, and for a time portions were used as prison and police office. It was not until 1883 that the whole building was put into its present satisfactory state.

DUMBARTON

A collegiate church was founded here in 1450 by Isabel, Duchess of Albany and Countess of Lennox, and dedicated to St Patrick. Its endowments in lands and rents provided for the support of a provost and 6 prebendaries. Ten years after the Reformation, at the resignation of the provostship by the Bishop of Caithness, brother of the Earl of Lennox, who had held it for several years, it was bestowed upon a boy, Cuthbert Cunningham, to serve to provide for his education; from this lad his father procured a grant of the lands, provost's house and garden, at a nominal rent. This is one instance out of many of the usurpation of the property of the Church by greedy laymen.

TAIN

The ancient title of this place was 'Duthus' Town' after a famous saint who was enshrined there in 1253. The relics of St Duthus or Duthac were the object of pilgrimage from various parts of Scotland. Several of the Scottish kings visited the place;

James IV, as part of the penance due for his complicity in the murder of his father, James III, made an annual pilgrimage to the shrine for about twenty consecutive years. Many of these pilgrimages were conducted on a scale of great magnificence, for James was a monarch who took a delight in stately ceremonial. In spite of a dissolute private life, he had a great attraction for the services of the Church.¹ This is shown in the fact that an organ formed part of the equipment of at least one of his pilgrimages to Tain. The Treasurer's Accounts for 1505 contained the following entry :

'Item, the xx day of October, in the Chanonry of Ross, to John Goldsmyth for tursing (*i.e.*, carrying) the organs to Tayne and hame again iiii lib. (£4.)'

In the same year there is mention of a relic preserved at Tain :

'Item, in Tayne to the man that beris Sanct Duthois bell iii s. (3s.).'

Many Masses were offered at Tain, during Catholic ages, for the repose of James III's soul.

In the centre of the town, sheltered by large trees, still stands the ancient collegiate church dedicated to the patron saint of the burgh. It was built towards the end of the 15th century, and is in decorated Gothic style. It was probably the parish church, which, as in many other instances, was later on made collegiate. The Bull of Innocent VIII, which gave it this new character, granted in 1487, is still preserved among the archives of the burgh. The clergy consisted of a provost, 5 canons, 2 deacons or

¹ James IV was an honorary canon of Glasgow, and loved to assist in his stall in the choir of the cathedral at the canonical offices. (Walcott, p. 186).

subdeacons, a sacristan, an assistant clerk and 3 singing boys. For nearly three centuries after the Reformation, the church was used for Presbyterian worship. In 1815 the congregation migrated to a larger modern church, just then completed, and the old building, left desolate, fell into decay. Public interest, however, was aroused later, and between the years 1849 and 1882 much was done towards its restoration and preservation, until it was put into its present satisfactory state. It is no longer used as a place of worship, but treasured as a relic of past ages. Many of its windows are filled with stained glass, though it is to be regretted that some of the subjects portrayed in these and other adornments, commemorating, as they do, scenes and personages relating to the Protestant Reformation, are scarcely in keeping with the purpose for which the building was designed.

RESTALRIG

The church of the Holy Trinity, St Mary, and St Margaret, at Restalrig, about a mile from Leith, was the parish church of the latter town up to the Reformation. James III founded it as a collegiate church in 1487. It received further endowments from his successors James IV and James V. The staff of clergy consisted of a dean, 9 prebendaries, 3 chaplains and 4 choristers. One of the prebendaries was organist and conducted a singing school. Another who was sacristan had charge of the vestments, precious vessels and books; out of the revenues belonging to his office he had to support 2 boys, whose duty it was to sing, light candles and

ring bells. Two other boys were supported by the dean and organist jointly.

One of the first sacred buildings to suffer from the fury of the Reformers was this church of Restalrig. The General Assembly of 1560 decreed 'that the Kirk of Restalrig, as a monument of idolatry, be rased and utterly cast down and destroyed.' The order was so thoroughly obeyed that nothing but the walls of the choir was allowed to remain. The very stones of the building were carted off to serve as materials for walls and houses. Doubtless the antipathy of the Assembly was aroused in the first place by the fact that for centuries this church had been the object of pious pilgrimage. The primitive building had been sacred to the memory of one of the early Scottish saints. St Triduana, a virgin recluse of about the 8th century, was enshrined there, and a holy well, bearing her name, was renowned for the cure of diseases of the eye. It became popularly known as 'St Trid Well,' and Sir David Lindsay, the satirical poet of the Reformation, ridicules the superstition of those who resorted thither 'to mend their ene.' It was this connection that gained for the church the hatred of the Puritans, and the appellation of 'monument of idolatry.' But another circumstance also may have helped towards the destruction of this church at so early a period of the supremacy of Protestantism; the superior, Dean Sinclair, had been one of the most prominent of the opponents of the Reformation, and here was an opportunity of punishing his obnoxious zeal.¹

In 1907 a scheme was set on foot for the restoration of what was called a chapter house adjoining

¹ Grub, vol. ii, p. 100.

the ancient ruined church; the church itself had been roofed over, and sufficiently restored to make it serviceable as a chapel of ease to the parish church of South Leith in 1837. The 'chapter house' was a six-sided building, about 29 feet across, with a central pillar supporting a beautiful groined roof. Outside, above the roof, was a mound of earth, upon which yew trees were growing sixty years ago. Opinions varied as to the original purpose of the small building; some imagined it to be a mausoleum, and it seems evident that persons were buried within it at one time.

The commencement of the proposed restoration, undertaken by the Earl of Moray, the owner of the property, has brought to light a fact of great interest. When the earth, which filled the building to within two feet of the top of the pillar, had been removed, it was discovered that the vaulted roof had been originally the ceiling of a chamber containing a well. In structure and style it resembled the building known as St Margaret's Well, not far off, in the village of Restalrig; it was somewhat larger, however. When the railway buildings were erected on its site in 1860, St Margaret's Well disappeared; the arches that covered it being removed to Holyrood Park, Edinburgh. It now appears beyond a doubt that there were two wells named after St Triduana and St Margaret respectively, covered by similar buildings, and that what was thought to be a chapter house was in reality the well of the more ancient saint, and the bourne of many a pilgrim in the ages of Faith. It is not improbable that the chapel which formed an upper story, of which traces are now evident, was the 'St Triduana's Aisle'

for which James, Bishop of Ross, had endowed a chaplaincy before 1512.

SETON

The church of the Holy Cross and St Mary, at Seton, in the county of Haddington, was made collegiate in 1493. The donor of the necessary revenues was George, 2nd Lord Seton, who died in 1507, and was buried near the high altar. Later members of the family added to the endowment from time to time, but at the period of the Reformation the church was still incomplete.

Sir Richard Maitland, a connection of the Setons, has left in a manuscript history a minute account of this church. A few quotations in modern spelling may here be given, for detailed particulars such as these are rare, and therefore all the more interesting.

‘Catherine Sinclair, the wife of Sir William Seton, who died at the beginning of the reign of Robert III, built an aisle on the south side of the church . . . with a sepulchre therein, where she lies ; and founded a priest to serve there perpetually.’ Here we have another of those innumerable instances of provision ‘for ever’ for Masses for the soul of the donor, of which the faithful dead were so ruthlessly despoiled three centuries ago. But to return to the chronicler. ‘This lady, in her widowhood, dwelt where are now the priests’ chambers in Seton, and planted and made all their yard, that they have yet, at this day.’ This was written in 1558. Janet, daughter of Patrick, 1st Earl of Bothwell, and widow of the founder’s son, built, we are told, ‘the north aisle of the church . . . and thereby made a perfect cross-

kirk, and built the steeple to a great height.' The same lady was a generous benefactress to the altar in the shape of gifts of vestments and adornments. Among her donations we read of 'a complete stanp of purple velvet vestments, flowered with gold; another of white Camoise velvet 'flowered with gold.' Other benefactions included precious vessels.¹

In 1544 the castle of Seton was burned down by the English soldiery; the church was at the same time despoiled of its treasures, the bells, organ, ornaments, and all moveables being carried off to the English ships in the Firth, and the woodwork of the building destroyed by fire.

The staff of clergy serving this collegiate church consisted of a provost, 6 canons, a clerk, and 2 singing boys.

STIRLING

Although the Chapel Royal dedicated to St Mary and St Michael, in the castle, was not fully constituted as a collegiate church until Alexander VI gave his approval in 1501, it had already been built for that purpose by James III, who erected a new building upon the site of a former chapel there, as many items in the Treasurer's Accounts (1473-4) go to prove. Pitscottie says: 'He maid in the said chappell royall, all kynd of office men, to wit, the bischope of Galloway, the deane, and the archdeane, chanter, and subchanter, with all kind of other officieris, perteaning ane colledge.'² The same authority says that the King doubled the number of

¹ Chalmers (Haddingtonshire, sect. viii.)

² *Chronicles*, 1814 ed., p. 210.

the choir, so that one half might be 'evir readie to pas with him, to sing and play with him, and hold him mirrie: the other halfe to remaine at home.' He had intended to annex the revenues of the Priory of Coldingham to form an endowment, but this was never done. After the monarch's death in 1488 by assassination, his son, James IV, carried out his father's design regarding the Chapel Royal. His grief for his share in the conspiracy against his father was rendered more keen while he 'remained a quhyll in Stirling, and passed daylie to the Chappell Royall to hear the mattines and evining song: and everie day the chaplandis prayed for the kingis grace, deplorand and lamentand for the death of his father, quhilk moved the king to repentance.'¹ The full collegiate body, as completed under James IV consisted of sacristan, treasurer, chancellor and arch-priest, in addition to those already mentioned, together with 16 prebendaries chaplains, 6 singing boys and a master of choristers.

When Queen Mary wished to have Mass in the chapel in 1561, such a disturbance was caused by some of the Protestant leaders that 'some, both priests and clerks, left their places with broken heads and bloody ears. It was a sport alone for some that were there to behold it.'²

James VI was baptised there on December 19th, 1566, by the Archbishop of St Andrews—the last public solemn ceremony with Catholic rites in the old Church of Scotland.

The present Chapel Royal was built on the site of that of James III by the Protestant James VI.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

² *Letter of Randolph to Cecil; Keith, Affairs*, p. 190.

LOCHWINNOCH

The collegiate church of St Mary, at Castle Sempil, stood in this parish, and is often spoken of under the above title. It was founded in 1504 by John, 1st Lord Sempil, who provided sufficient endowment for a provost, 6 canons and 2 boys for singing. Many interesting details remain to us concerning the services of this church. The prebendary who held the post of organist, who was, of course, like the others a priest, was required to teach a singing school, giving lessons daily therein to boys in Gregorian chant, and other church music. The two boys attached to the foundation had to be maintained out of his revenues. The sacristan had charge of the church vessels and ornaments, and was responsible for the upkeep of the fabric. It was his duty to regulate the clock, and duly to ring the bells before Matins, Vespers and Compline, as well as at curfew and before prayers; his instructions required him to take care to 'double' the chime, according to custom, on festivals. He had to collect the offerings of the people, passing through the church for that purpose. The cleanliness of the building, and its proper adornment with branches and flowers at due times, was part of his responsibility. The choir dress of the canons and boys was a linen surplice, and over it a hood of red English cloth lined with black lambswool: the provost, in addition, carried on his arm on feast days a fur tippet, called an 'almuce.' Masses were daily celebrated at 6 o'clock in summer and 7 in winter, and at 8 and 9, with High Mass at 10, all the year round.¹

¹ Chalmers (Renfrewshire) and *Orig. Paroch.*

At the Reformation the property was taken possession of by the Sempil family. The small church, about 70 feet long, continued to be the burying place of the descendants of the founder. Its remains are still to be seen near Castle Sempil, in the vicinity of Lochwinnoch station on the South Western Railway, between Paisley and Ayr.

KING'S COLLEGE, ABERDEEN

The holy and learned Bishop of Aberdeen, William Elphinstone, founded the church of St Mary, in connection with the University, which owed its commencement to him, in 1505. He endowed it for 8 prebendaries, a precentor, a sacristan, an organist and 6 choir boys.

The choir of the original college church still possesses the screen and stalls which formed part of its furniture in Catholic days. They are of carved oak, and Dr Hill Burton says of them: 'for beauty of Gothic design and practical finish (they) are perhaps the finest piece of carved work existing in the British Empire.' This splendid carving escaped the destructive fury of 'reformers' through the zealous action of the Principal of the University, who armed a band of defenders to resist any such onslaught.

The tomb of the holy founder, who was buried there, is now marked by a plain, nameless, marble slab, slightly raised from the pavement. A stone canopy, and a recumbent figure of brass, which more worthily honoured his memory, have disappeared. The body of Hector Boece, the first Principal, a scholar of note, and a friend of the famous Erasmus, also lies in the chapel.

Service takes place in this chapel during term

time, and it has every appearance of being well cared for. The beautifully decorated ceiling has been of late years restored in its original style; many of the windows have been filled with stained glass.

The title 'King's College' is in reference to James IV, its notable patron. This is one of the few buildings of the kind in Scotland which retain many of their primitive features.

CRAIL

A collegiate establishment, consisting of a provost, sacristan, 10 prebendaries and choristers, was founded in 1517 by Sir William Myreton, in conjunction with the prioress of the Cistercian nuns of Haddington, in the ancient church here, whose revenues had been in possession of the nuns in question. It was in this church that Knox, on June 9th, 1559, preached an inflammatory sermon against 'idolatry,' which incited the rabble to an outburst of zeal resulting in wreckage of the ornaments of the sacred building. The Early English building with nave and aisles, 80 feet long, a short tower and diminished chancel, still serves as parish church.

GLASGOW

The collegiate church of St Mary and St Anne in this city was founded about the year 1528 by James Houston, sub-dean of the cathedral, and rector of Glasgow. It stood in St Thenew's Gate, on the spot now occupied by what is known as the 'Tron Church.' Endowment was made for the support of a provost, 8 prebendaries and 3 boys, 'skilled in singing and learned in letters and science and of good character.' The number of clergy was raised to

twelve in later times. After the death of the founder, the magistrates of the city exercised the right of the presentation of a benefice to a worthy occupant, should one become vacant. A 'song school,' in which one of the prebendaries taught church music, stood on the western side of the church. A cemetery was attached to it also.

St Mary's ranked next to the cathedral in the city. It was called by various titles; 'New Church,' 'New College,' 'Laigh (Low) Church,' were the chief. The latter name was to distinguish it from the 'High Church,' as the cathedral was styled. The most common of these designations, after the Reformation, was that of 'Laigh Kirk,' when, as a Protestant writer remarks, 'the name of the Blessed Virgin was less respected in Glasgow than in former times,' the citizens supported chaplains to celebrate Mass at the altars of Our Lady, St Michael and St Mungo; there were several other altars, also, in this fine building.

All the images, altars and adornments of St Mary's were ruthlessly destroyed by a mob of 'reformers' in 1560, and for a long time the church was left desolate and neglected. The magistrates appropriated all its revenues, which had been bestowed for purely religious purposes by the various benefactors of the church. Thirty years after, the building was repaired and used for Presbyterian worship. In 1637 the magistrates added a square tower. The 'tron,' or public weighing machine, kept under this tower, obtained for the building the name of 'Tron Church'; the street in which it stood becoming known as Trongate—a title it still bears. The word 'gate' or

¹ Chalmers, *Lanarkshire*, sect. viii.

'gait' in old Scottish speech signified a way, or street; witness the familiar proverb: 'Gang y'r ain gait.' The fine old collegiate church was destroyed by fire in 1793, and the present Tron Church was built upon its site.

CULLEN

The parish church of Cullen in Banffshire, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, was made collegiate in 1543. Alexander Ogilvie of Deskford generously endowed it for the support of a provost, 6 canons and 2 choristers. He was buried in the church, where a richly decorated tomb, its canopy surmounting his recumbent effigy, is still to be seen in a recess on the north side of the choir or chancel. The small building, originally of cruciform shape, is now used as a Presbyterian church. It received an addition to its fabric in 1798, to provide accommodation for the increased number of worshippers.¹

There is a feature of this church which calls for special mention. In the north wall of the sanctuary, near to the site of the former high altar, is one of the few remaining specimens of those stone recesses for the reservation of the Sacred Species known as Sacrament Houses. It dates from the 16th century. It is embellished with the figures of two angels, bearing between them a monstrance containing the Blessed Sacrament; beneath the recess is an inscription giving the date of its erection in Gothic characters, while a garland of vine leaves, with clusters of grapes, forms a border.

The former manses of the canons have been merged in the buildings of Cullen House, in the grounds of

¹ Cramond, *Church and Churchyard of Cullen*.

which the church still stands. The house is now a residence of the Earls of Seafield, having passed to that family at the extinction of the Ogilvies. It has been greatly added to at various periods, and is a noble specimen of Scottish Baronial architecture.

BIGGAR

The last of all the collegiate foundations made in Scotland is that of Biggar in Lanarkshire. It owed its origin, in 1545, to the piety and generosity of Malcolm, 3rd Lord Fleming, Chamberlain of Scotland, who perished, together with a great number of his kinsmen and followers, in 1547, on the field of Pinkie, only two years after the foundation. The staff consisted of a provost, 8 prebendaries and 4 singing boys. Six poor men received board and lodging under the care of the clergy of the establishment. It is an interesting fact that the charter of erection was confirmed by Cardinal Beaton in his capacity of Papal Legate.

It is worthy of note that a document connected with this church, dated a few years after its erection, refers to the growing heresy of Protestantism. The Abbot of Holyrood, when granting certain privileges to this collegiate body, speaks in these terms: 'In consideration of the singular zeal and pious affection towards God and the Catholic Church, which were shown, in these unhappy days of Lutheranism, by a sometime noble and mighty lord, Malcolm, Lord Fleming, who at his own charge built a stately church in the village of Biggar, dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption and commonly called the College of St Mary of Biggar,' etc.¹

¹ *New Stat. Acct.* (Lanarksh.)

The allusion to Lutheranism is a reference to the state of religion in other countries rather than in Scotland; for although a certain number had attempted to propagate its doctrines, they had been punished by the civil authorities. The nation was, as yet, wholly Catholic. But the political movement ironically styled the 'Reformation of Religion' was to supplant the ancient Faith, and well-nigh sweep it from the land, less than twenty years after the foundation of this church. This explains why St Mary's, Biggar, was never really completed. Its central tower was to have been crowned by a spire, but it is yet wanting.

St Mary's is still in use as the parish church, as it has been since the downfall of the Catholic religion. It is not so handsome a building, though, in spite of its restoration a few years ago, as it was in its early days. Presbyterianism considered its richly carved oaken ceiling, brilliant with gilding, as savouring too much of Popery. It was pulled down, therefore, and in its place was substituted one of lath and plaster, in better accord with the extreme simplicity of the new ritual! A greater act of vandalism still was the destruction of portions of the fabric, and their sale for a few pounds to defray certain parish expenses; yet this actually took place about a century ago, when the sacristy, the western porch and a lych-gate in the churchyard were wantonly sacrificed!¹

It is sad to reflect upon the results of the Protestant Reformation, as regards the establishments of which we have been treating in these pages. By their overthrow, about three hundred priests, were reduced to the condition of paupers by the violent seizure

¹ *New Stat. Acct.*

of their churches, dwellings and revenues. What became of them, or of the hundreds of others, secular and regular clergy, left in a similar plight, it is impossible to ascertain with any degree of accuracy. Many, doubtless, took refuge in Catholic countries on the continent; some may have remained behind, among those heroes—who were not wanting to Scotland—who dared insult, imprisonment, banishment, and even death, for the love of the souls for whom Christ died. Some, no doubt, succumbed to human weakness, and conformed to the new religion set up by authority. The truth is hidden with God.

To a Catholic there is just reason for lament that in these forty or more churches the daily voice of praise was for ever silenced, the daily sacrifices abolished, the numerous suffrages for the faithful dead contemptuously denied them.

III—HOSPITALS

CHARITABLE institutions for the benefit of suffering humanity are the offspring of faith. Our Lord declared to His first followers : ‘ By this shall all men know that you are My disciples, if you have love one for another.’ It was the manifestation of this love which led to the foundation in every Christian country of so many institutes of mercy for the relief of needy members of the great family of God. To love all, to pray for all, to sacrifice self for all was to be the aim of the perfect follower of Christ. The practice of the works of mercy—the outcome of such a spirit—was encouraged by the generous promise made by Christ Himself of a special reward at the last day : ‘ Come, ye blessed of My Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you. . . . For I was hungry and you gave Me to eat : . . . I was a stranger and you took Me in : naked, and you covered Me : sick, and you visited Me. . . . Amen I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these My least brethren, you did it to Me.’¹

It is not strange, then, that Christianity, from the very first, offered a striking contrast to heathenism in the fostering of institutions which should enable man to imitate more closely his divine model and render salvation more secure by the practice of charity towards his suffering brethren. As soon as the Church was free from persecution houses began to be set

¹ St Matth. xxv, 35.

apart for the care of the sick and the shelter of the needy. St Chrysostom and St Basil in the East, St Paulinus of Nola in the West are some of the bright examples of the early ages in this respect. Later on councils of the Church by special legislation bound bishops to provide such refuges out of the funds of their churches. When rich laymen imitated their example at their own private cost the ecclesiastical authorities had always the supervision of the institutions so founded; thus a Christian character was secured for them which was maintained for centuries.

The very term—'Hospital'—by which these charitable institutions were known expressed the spirit which had led to their foundation. For the name, derived from the Latin, signified a place in which guests (*hospites*) were entertained as representatives of Christ. Whether the building had been set apart for the sick or intended as a shelter for travellers, or as a permanent home for the aged and indigent—the same title, 'Hospital,' distinguished it.

It is the aim of this chapter to inquire into the institutes of this kind which existed in Scotland in former ages. For Scotland, like every other Christian country could boast of many such. There is evidence of the existence of about ninety at the period of the Reformation, though it is exceedingly probable that they were greatly in excess of that number, since, even in the case of many hospitals, nothing is known except the fact—testified sometimes by the mere place-name or a casual mention in some old deed—that such an institution did once flourish in a certain spot. But even supposing ninety to have been the total number, it was quite a respectable average for a country whose population is computed to have been

about 500,000 in all at the end of the fifteenth century. At the present day one huge city, Glasgow, numbers far more inhabitants.

It is sad to have to record the fact that when the Reformation took place in Scotland, the promoters of the movement were so determined to sweep away, if possible, every vestige of the ancient faith, that even charitable institutions were suppressed and their revenues seized by spoilers. In too many cases the very buildings belonging to such charities were wrecked and ruined. To the shame of the sacrilegious robbers be it confessed, that no attempt was made for a long period to replace the heritage thus fraudulently snatched from the poor and suffering. 'The ancient Church,' says a Protestant writer, 'was honourably distinguished by its charity towards the poor, and more especially towards the diseased poor; and it was a dreary interval of nearly two centuries which intervened between the extinction of its lazarettos and leper-houses and the time when merely a civilized humanity dictated the establishment of a regulated means of succour for the sickness-stricken of the humbler classes.'¹

The expression 'merely a civilized humanity' in the above extract is worthy of comment. It distinguishes accurately the motives which animated Protestant benefactions of the kind under discussion, from the spirit of faith which gave rise to the ancient Catholic foundations. Not that 'humanity' was wanting in the latter; but it was a humanity which sprang from the supernatural love of one's kind which the Gospel inculcates, and not a mere sentimental feeling of pity. The old founders acted from the

¹ Chambers, vol. iii, p. 557.

highest motives. Their faith showed them the person of Christ in His suffering members, and they gave their goods to Him rather than to the poor. The old Knights Hospitallers, who devoted themselves so untiringly to the care of the sick during the Crusades, styled themselves 'the servants of our masters the poor of Christ.' Poverty and sickness were the only credentials necessary to gain admission into their houses, and, once within those walls, a sick man was denied nothing that he asked for, if it could by any possibility be procured. The same spirit animated the founders of a later age and in other lands. The honour of serving Christ in His poor and of thus winning from Him the promised reward at the last day, weighed more with them than mere human pity, and produced far more striking examples of self-denying charity than was possible to the latter.

But we might say more. Whence springs the feeling that men so glibly style 'humanitarianism'? It is not inherent in human nature, for the ancients, even those most highly civilised, despised it. 'The number of poor in Rome in the days of Augustus,' says Cardinal Gibbons, 'exceeded half a million in a population of about two millions of inhabitants. And yet there is no instance recorded in the history of Rome of any asylum for the poor or hospital for the sick ever having been founded, either by the bounty of the State or by private munificence. The same utter disregard for the indigent and afflicted prevailed in Greece and in every ancient nation with which we are acquainted. . . . Even the gentle Virgil includes among the features of the wise man's happiness his apathy for the indigence of others.'¹

¹ 'Our Christian Heritage,' pp. 376-7.

Christianity was the first teacher of mercy to suffering humanity, and whatever practices of charity may distinguish Protestant Christianity in these days, they are but vestiges of the more Christlike charity of Catholic ages.

DIFFERENT CLASSES OF HOSPITALS

Before giving a list of the Scottish hospitals, it will be well to distinguish between the various purposes for which they were established. There were four classes of such institutions, though all were comprised under the one designation, 'Hospital.' The greater number were intended as houses for the treatment of the sick and diseased. Of these there were two kinds: (1) hospitals for ordinary complaints; (2) those for the harbouring and treatment of lepers. But besides these were many institutions which we should call in these days 'almshouses'; for they were intended to provide a home for the poor who were no longer able to labour for their livelihood. A fourth class consisted of houses where wayfarers, especially pilgrims to some sacred shrine, might obtain rest and refreshment on their journey free of cost.

In the following table all hospitals which can be traced with any degree of certainty as once existing in Scotland are enumerated under the various counties. The appended letters—A, L or T—stand respectively for Almshouse, Leper Hospital and Travellers' Rest. The institutions named without any such distinction were probably intended mainly for the sick; it must be borne in mind, however, that many hospitals served more than one purpose. A word of explanation is necessary, also, as to the impossibility

of furnishing an entirely accurate list. Owing to the changes that have occurred in the names of places and the re-division of parishes in the course of centuries, the same institution is occasionally mentioned by writers on the subject under more than one designation. Wherever this error has been clearly ascertained, one name only has been given. A few localities are now difficult of identification; such as these are notified at the end of the list. Above all, it has to be borne in mind that some institutions of the kind, and possibly many, have become entirely lost sight of in the course of ages.

TABLE OF SCOTTISH HOSPITALS

ABERDEEN.—Aberdeen: (1) St Thomas the Martyr; (2) St Peter; (3) St Anne (L); (4) Bishop Dunbar's Hospital (A); Kincardine O'Neil.

AYR.—Doonslee; Kingcase (L).

BANFF.—Banff (A); Rathven (L); Turriff (A).

BERWICK.—Aldcambus (L); Berwick: (1) St Mary; (2) 'Domus Dei'; (3) St Mary Magdalene; Dunse; Horndean (A); Hutton; Lauder (A); Legerwood (L); Strafountain in Lammermoor.

DUMFRIES.—Dumfries: (1) 'Spital'; (2) Annan Bank ('How-Spital'); Holywood; Sanquhar; Trailltrow.

DUMBARTON.—Dumbarton (A).

FIFE.—Aberdour: (1) SS Mary and Martha (T); (2) Countess of Moray's Hospital (A); Ardross; Newburgh; St Andrews (T).

FORFAR.—Arbroath ('Spital Field'); Balgamies; Brechin.

HADDINGTON.—Ballencrieff (Aberlady Parish); Gosford; Haddington: (1) St Mary; (2) St Lawrence; Houseton; Seton; Soutra (T).

KIRKCUDBRIGHT.—Lincluden (A); Kirkmabreck.

LANARK.—Cambuslang; Glasgow: (1) St Ninian (L); (2) St Nicholas (A); (3) 'Stable Green Port' (A and T); (4) Polmadie; Hamilton; Lanark; Shotts (A); Stonehouse; Torrance.

LINLITHGOW.—Linlithgow (T).

MID-LOTHIAN.—Edinburgh: (1) 'Maison Dieu' (A); (2) Bell's Wynd; (3) St Mary's Wynd (A); (4) Our Lady in Leith Wynd (A); (5) St Thomas (A); (6) St Paul; (7) St Leonard (A and T); (8) Holy Trinity (A); Dalkeith: (1) Hospital (A); (2) Ballantyne's Hospital, on the road to Edinburgh (A); Hermiston (Currie Parish); Leith; Liberton (L).

MORAY.—Bridge of Spey (T); Elgin.

PEEBLES.—Linton; Peebles.

PERTH.—Perth: (1) St Leonard; (2) St Paul; (3) St Catherine.

RENFREW.—Crookston, near Neilston.

ROXBURGH.—Cavers; Ednam; Hassendean (T); Jedburgh (T); Maxwell; Nisbet; Old Roxburgh (A and T); Rutherford; Smailholm.

SHETLAND.—Lerwick (L); Papa Stour (L).

STIRLING.—Stirling: (1) St James (L); (2) Spittal's Almshouse (A).

WIGTOWN.—Stoneykirk.

LOCALITIES UNKNOWN.—Portingraig; Sugden; Kingussie, near Ayr (possibly a misreading for Kingcase); Lesvarde (probably Lasswade, Midlothian).

HOSPITALS FOR THE SICK

Some particulars may now be given concerning particular institutions, where information is extant.¹ With regard to the arrangement of buildings for sick hospitals, we are able to gain some idea by the remains still to be seen in England. For the Reformation there was of a different kind; ecclesiastical institutions were not wholly devastated, as was generally the case in Scotland; ancient churches and chapels were merely appropriated by the new system, which only gradually developed into Protestantism pure and simple. So that although many ancient institutions eventually perished, many others still remain to this day.

¹ Vide, Chalmers and Walcott, *passim*.

St Mary's Hospital, Chichester, had a common room resembling the nave of a church, with recesses, like aisles, for the beds of the patients, and a chapel screened off at the eastern end, after the fashion of a chancel. The Garrison Church at Portsmouth, once a hospital, is built on this plan. At the celebration of Mass the screen which shut off the chancel would be sufficiently opened to enable the sick people to follow the Holy Sacrifice. The graceful Gothic fabric of the Hospital of St John, Angers, built by the English King Henry II as Lord of Anjou, in 1184, is an example of the splendid church-like buildings erected out of Christian charity in the ages of faith.¹

The management of every hospital was in the hands of a rector, or master, who was almost always an ecclesiastic. Frequently he filled the office of chaplain; otherwise a special priest was maintained for the spiritual care of the sick. The staff comprised attendants; in some cases women nurses were provided.

ABERDEEN

It is probable that two of the hospitals in the city were devoted to the care of the sick; these were dedicated to St Thomas the Martyr and St Peter, respectively. No particulars as to the history of the former can be ascertained. It would appear to have been founded at the period when devotion to the martyred Archbishop of Canterbury, stimulated by the miracles which had testified to his sanctity, and which led to his canonisation three years after his

¹ *Vide*, drawing in Parker's *Introduction to Gothic Architecture*, p. 233.

death, was rapidly spreading throughout the Church. Arbroath Abbey, founded by King William the Lion, who had known the martyr personally, was one of the first dedications to St Thomas, and dated from the fifth year after his canonisation, which took place in 1173. St Peter's was founded by Bishop Matthew de Kyninmund, who filled the See of Aberdeen from 1172 to 1199, and its charter expressly states its designation. The repose of the soul of King William is mentioned as one of the motives which urged the founder of this work of charity. The hospital was situated in the quarter at the south end of the city, still called 'Spital' from that circumstance. Some of the endowments granted by the founder for its sustentation, since they had been misappropriated in later years, were withdrawn by succeeding bishops. In 1307 Bishop Cheyne diverted some of the property to the support of two chaplains, who were bound to celebrate in the cathedral daily and on Sundays by turn in St Peter's Chapel. What was called the 'town of Spital' was left as endowment. In 1427 Bishop Henry de Leighton seems to have withdrawn the remaining endowments, and his action received sanction from Pope Eugenius IV a few years later. St Peter's Cemetery, lying between Old and New Aberdeen, marks the site of this hospital; it is still used as a burying place.¹

DOONSLEE

A chapel and hospital dedicated to St Leonard stood not far from the river Doon, in Ayrshire. Nothing survives of its history except the fact that the master, who was also chaplain, was appointed by

¹ Antiq. Aberd. ii. p. 114.

the Crown, as the Register of the Privy Seal testifies (1506-1548). The ruins were still to be seen in the reign of Charles I, when Pont made his map of the district. It is worthy of note that St Leonard, as will be seen, was a favourite patron of hospitals in general. The saint lived as a hermit in France in the sixth century and was particularly devoted to the liberation of captives, some of whom he is said to have miraculously delivered from prison by his prayers. Sickness may be deemed a species of captivity, as it detains the afflicted from taking part in the ordinary life of the world. This may account for the choice of St Leonard as the patron of hospitals. Or it may be that the marked devotion to him, existing both in France and England in the Middle Ages, on account of the many miracles attributed to his intercession, was the chief reason.

BERWICK

The hospital known as 'Domus Dei' was founded by Philip de Rydal before the fourteenth century; for William of Roxburgh, who was master in 1332, granted a charter in that year to the monks of Newbattle. The beautiful title—signifying God's House—appears frequently in relation with such institutions. Sometimes the French form—*Maison Dieu* or *Hôtel de Dieu*—is used. St Mary's Hospital, in the same town, has few historic remains. Berwick and the surrounding country were frequently visited by English armies during the conflict for English supremacy in Scotland under the Edwards. When Berwick became English the sovereign assumed the patronage of its hospitals. Robert de Burton, who was a kind of agent for the English in the south of Scotland,

obtained in recognition of his services several grants of money as well as the government of this hospital in 1340. Another in the county, at Ednam, fell to him also, and the hospital of St Mary Magdalene, outside the town walls, was given into his charge in 1354. The founder of this latter is unknown. The master swore fealty to Edward I in 1296, and thus secured the holding of his office and emoluments.

HUTTON

St John's Hospital is kept in mind by the title 'Spital' still applied to private property there. The guardian in 1296 imitated the servile example of so many others in his position, and took the oath of allegiance to the English king in order to retain his office.

STRAFONTAIN

The hospital founded in the reign of David I, by an unknown benefactor, was given to the monks of Dryburgh in 1437. Its old graveyard and the ruins of a chapel were still to be seen about a century ago.

DUMFRIES

The names of 'Spital,' on the south of the town, and 'How-Spital,' and 'Spital-Ridding,' still borne by a hamlet and village respectively, near the bank of the Annan, are the only traces remaining of the two hospitals which once flourished there.

HADDINGTON

To pass over the several unimportant hospitals in the county, the town itself possessed two. St Mary's stood within the walls; St Laurence was the patron

of another near the town, and has given the name to a hamlet upon its site. Haddington was rich in ecclesiastical buildings. Besides the parish church of St Mary, there were chapels dedicated to St Laurence, St Catherine, St Martin, St Kentigern, and St John—the latter belonging to the order of knights of that name. A Protestant writer, Dr Chalmers, thus sarcastically comments upon the fact, conveying a well-merited rebuke to certain of his co-religionists: ‘All those chapels were founded by the piety of ages which have been long considered as superstitious by those who do less and talk more.’

LANARK

The hospital of St Leonard stood about half a mile east of the town. It was founded either in the reign of William the Lion (1165-1214) or under Robert I, in a later century. A chapel was attached to it, and the endowment was furnished by lands called by the name of the patron saint and by others near Carluke called ‘Spital Fields.’ In 1393 Robert III granted the hospital and its revenues to Sir John de Dalyell and his heirs, on condition that three Masses be said weekly for ever for the king, his wife, Queen Annabella, their children, ancestors, and successors. Just before the Reformation the master, John Hamilton, was deposed as incapable of holding the chaplaincy, he having married a wife. He had evidently become a convert to the new religion. In 1792 the ruins of the hospital might still be seen. Its revenues were applied for the benefit of the poor after the Reformation—a procedure by no means common.

¹ Caledonia (*Haddingtonshire*, sect. viii.)

Other hospitals in the same county have no history. Torrance, dedicated to St Leonard, existing in the thirteenth century, was entirely swept away at the Reformation, and not a vestige remains. Cambuslang is remembered by the 'Lands of Spital' and 'Spital Mill,' once forming part of its property.

EDINBURGH

This city was rich in hospitals. Most of these will fall under another class of institution, although it is probable that some of them, in addition to housing the poor, took care of the sick. In Bell's Wynd was a Maison Dieu, whose founder is unknown, and no particulars remain as to its history. St Paul's Hospital and its chapel appear in a document of the date of 1495, but of the history of the institution nothing is known.¹

LEITH

The hospital and chapel of St Nicholas gave the name to St Nicholas' Wynd in this town.

PEEBLES

About two miles from the town stood a hospital for the sick and indigent, dedicated to St Leonard. Its site is indicated by the name 'Chapel Yards' still in use.

CROOKSTON

The only hospital which can be traced in the county of Renfrew was one which stood on the west side of the Levern Water, not far from Neilston. Its founder was Robert de Croc, a vassal of the Steward of Scotland, who had settled near Neilston

¹ Wilson, vol. ii, *passim*.

at a place which eventually became called after him, 'Crocestoun'—afterwards modified to Crukstoun and Crookston. In 1180 this Robert obtained leave from the Abbot of Paisley, in whose jurisdiction the locality was, for a chaplain to perform divine service in the chapel lately founded by him in connection with the hospital for the sick on his estate. Permission was granted saving the rights of the mother church of Paisley; offerings were not to be taken, and the dead were to be carried to Paisley for burial.¹

There are many reasons which seem to identify this chapel with one bearing the name of St Conall in the same neighbourhood, whose revenues were later on attached to the collegiate church founded by the Sempills at Lochwinnoch. St Conall's Chapel was situated on the left bank of the Levern, as was Croc's Hospital Chapel. St Conall is probably the Irish St Conval, whose name, corrupted from Conuall, appears as Connall in the Bollandists; he was patron of Eastwood (now Pollokshaws) and of Inchinnan, and was probably the apostle of that district.

OLD ROXBURGH

The Maison Dieu here, dedicated to St Mary Magdalene, harboured pilgrims as well as the diseased and poor. It was endowed by David I with the lands of Ravendene. A hamlet called Maison Dieu still marks its site. Nisbet, in the same county, had a hospital which is said to have belonged to the Knights of St John at Ancrum, a village in the neighbourhood. The old cemetery, called 'Spital,' was used for centuries by those 'who love to lie

¹ *Reg. de Passelet*, Maitland Club, p. 77.

among their progenitors,' as one writer puts it. Other institutions of like kind in the county are identified now by the name 'Spital.' This is the case with Ednam (St Leonard's), Cavers, and Smalholm.

LEPER HOUSES

The most terrible disease of mediæval Christendom was leprosy. It seems to have entered western Europe with the Roman armies returning from the East in the century before the Christian era, and to have been carried to the various Roman colonies of Spain, Gaul, and Britain. But it was through the constant intercourse with the East, brought about by the Crusades, that leprosy became epidemic in Europe. In the ages when medical science was less accurate than now it is possible that many cases of simpler diseases of the skin were mistaken for leprosy. There is no doubt, however, that there were many persons in various parts of Europe afflicted by the actual malady still rife in some eastern countries.

Hospitals for lepers began to be founded in Europe as early as the seventh century. By the thirteenth they are said to have numbered as many as 19,000. France alone had 2000. The first hospital of the kind in Great Britain was probably that at Canterbury, which was in existence in the eleventh century. In form the buildings differed somewhat from those of ordinary hospitals for the sick. Separate cells were constructed round a quadrangle. There was a chapel and a common hall, a kitchen and a habitation for the attendants. The contagious nature of the disease led to the enforcing by law of strict

isolation. Lepers were bound to wear a special costume, which consisted usually of a long grey gown, with a hood attached which could be drawn over the face. They were not permitted to enter inns, churches, mills, or bakehouses; they were forbidden to touch any healthy person or to eat with such; they might not wash in streams or walk on narrow or frequented footpaths.

Some particulars may now be given regarding the more important of the Scottish institutions of the kind. With regard to many no information is extant beyond the mere fact of their existence. It will be necessary, therefore, to confine our remarks to the few which have some shreds of history remaining.

KINGCASE

At this place, situated on the coast of Kyle, and in the parish of Prestwick, not far from the town of Ayr, King Robert Bruce established a hospital for lepers which he dedicated to St Ninian. The name has been variously written Kilcause, Kilcais, Kingcase, etc. Some etymologists seek to derive it from the Gaelic and interpret the meaning as 'Retreat of the Plague.' The hospital was endowed for the support of eight lepers, for whom a chaplain was appointed who filled the post of master also. The pious king may have been led to show his charity in this form by the fact that in the later years of his life he suffered from a disease which seems to have been a species of leprosy and which eventually caused his death. The chapel attached to this hospital was still standing in the reign of Charles I. With the disappearance of leprosy from Scotland, the institution assumed a different character, as was

the case with others of the same nature ; the revenues were applied to the support of a certain number of poor persons, who were lodged in little cottages near the original site. The ruins which remain show the chapel to have measured about 36 feet in length.

RATHVEN

About 1224 a hospital for lepers was founded at Rathven—a name formerly written and still pronounced locally ‘Raffan’—by John Bisset, a member of a noble family of Norman origin, which settled in Scotland in the twelfth century. This John Bisset seems to have been a kinsman of the James Bisset who founded Beaulieu Priory in 1230 ; for he was one of the benefactors of that house. It is worthy of note that Manassar Bisset, who held office in the court of Henry II of England, founded a leper hospital at Maiden Bradley in Wiltshire ; he was probably belonging to another branch of the same family. The titular of the Rathven hospital, as of the parish, was St Peter ; for the parish extends for some distance along the Banffshire coast and is inhabited chiefly by a fishing population.

The foundation charter thus expresses the motives of the founder : ‘For reasons of charity and for the benefit of the soul of my Lord, William, King of Scotland, and the welfare of my Lord, Alexander, our noble king, and for the good of the souls of my predecessors and successors, etc.’ The endowment provided for the support of seven leprous persons, with their chaplain and a servant. The right of presentation was reserved to the founder’s family.¹

¹ Antiq. Aberd. and Banff, vol. ii, p. 142.

Like others of the same class, this hospital seems to have become changed in character when leprosy was no longer rife in the district in which it stood. In 1536 Bishop William Stewart approved of the increase of the number of poor persons then enjoying the benefit of the hospital funds from three to six. The bedesmen—a title which designated persons whose chief duty was to pray for others—were bound to recite daily in the church before midday, ‘The Psalter of the Blessed Virgin Mary,’ as the Rosary was then styled. Each evening two of them had to take turns to say the same prayers ‘on bended knees.’ Their official dress was a habit of white cloth, with a hood, ‘like that of Carthusians,’ to cover the head. The intention of these daily prayers is stated as the welfare of King James V, of the bishop, of the rector of the hospital, and of the parishioners of Rathven, and for the eternal rest of the faithful departed.

The institution survived the Reformation, and many allusions to it occur in the presbytery records. In 1624 there are grievous complaints of the ruinous state of the house and neglect of the bedesmen’s alms. In 1634 it was reported that matters were still unsatisfactory, that the poor men were not supplied with habits according to the prescription of the foundation charter and were not subject to any order. Ten years later the bedesmen appeared in their habits and testified that they had received their dues. At the same time it was decreed that ‘a seat be erected for them in the kirk, that it may be known if any of them be absent.’ It was further enacted that no one should be admitted to the bedehouse in future who was unable to say the

Commandments, Creed, and Lord's Prayer. In 1675 the bedesmen received a reprimand from the presbytery for unsatisfactory conduct. 'The six poor men appearing before the brethren were exhorted to keep the house, not gadding abroad, to be devout, to keep the church, and for that end a seat was to be erected for them by themselves to have prayers morning and evening, and other duties, to all which they engaged themselves.'

The building had fallen to ruins more than twenty years ago, when a friend of the writer's remembers having seen it, though six poor persons of the parish continued to receive a share in the revenue of the ancient foundation.¹

GLASGOW

Near the Gorbals end of the old Glasgow bridge, the predecessor of the present Victoria bridge, stood the leper hospital of St Ninian, founded in the fourteenth century by the Lady of Lochawe. Near it were a chapel and a cemetery. The Bishops of Glasgow had the right of presenting patients; indeed, according to certain authorities, the foundation was due to one of their number, as the law required them to provide a suitable place for the harbouring of lepers. The chapel, if not first built by him, was at least restored about the end of the fifteenth century by Canon William Stewart. In addition to the existing revenue he endowed it with the rents of certain houses and lands to provide for the support of a chaplain to celebrate Mass there. He ordained that the lepers should

¹ *Vide*, Cramond, *Church and Churchyard of Rathven* (Banff, 1885).

assemble every evening at the sound of a bell to pray in the chapel for his soul after his death, as well as for the souls of other benefactors. On the anniversary of his death each year the chaplain was bound to assemble in the chapel twenty-four poor scholars skilled in singing, who should assist at his Requiem and should say afterwards the seven penitential psalms and a *De Profundis* for his soul's rest. For these services each scholar was to receive one penny, and twelve pence were to be divided amongst lepers not belonging to the hospital.

The institution did not come to an end at the Reformation. In 1589 there were six patients. As late as 1610 an ordinance of the Town Council decreed : ' It is enacted and ordained that the lepers of the hospital shall go only upon the causeway side near the gutter, and shall have clappers, and a cloth upon the mouth and face, and shall stand afar off, while they receive alms or answer, under the pain of banishing them the town and hospital.'¹

The name ' St Ninian's Croft,' which clung to the district up to a century ago, recalled the site of this charitable institution. The chapel survived the hospital by more than a century. In 1798 it served as a parish school; upper stories, which had been constructed in the building, were utilised as a prison. In 1827 it was converted into dwelling-houses and shops, but was entirely swept away in 1866. A number of human bones which were discovered in the neighbourhood many years ago were supposed to indicate the site of the former cemetery of this hospital.

¹ *Orig. Paroch*, vol. i, 18.

EDINBURGH

There is no indication of the existence of a leper hospital in this city in Catholic ages. About two miles from the centre of Edinburgh stood the village of Liberton—now forming almost a part of the city. The name is said to indicate the situation of such an establishment, since it is interpreted to signify ‘Leper Town.’ This is not improbable, as hospitals of this class were usually situated on the outskirts of a populous city.

After the Reformation the former Carmelite monastery in Greenside, within the city, which had been founded by one of the later provosts in 1528 and called Holy Cross, was constituted as a leper hospital by John Robertson, a merchant, in 1591. Although this establishment scarcely falls within our scope, a few words about it may not be out of place, since the spirit in which it was conducted differed so widely from that which prevailed in the old Catholic hospitals.

The poor afflicted creatures residing in this Greenside institution were not only forbidden to leave the house by night or day, but even to open the gates between sunrise and sunset. The prohibition may have been dictated by a commendable prudence, but the penalty for disobedience was out of all proportion to the offence. This penalty was hanging! The lepers were kept constantly in mind of it by the gallows erected on the gable end of the building. Solicitude for the healthy seems to have overbalanced sympathy for the poor sufferers. The place, for them, was rather a prison than a home! Day by day each sat in turn silent by the entrance, shaking

a clapper to ask alms from the passer-by, to be dropped into a cup provided for the purpose.'

SHETLAND ISLES

That two leper hospitals should exist in these northern isles is a proof of the prevalence there of the malady. This may have been owing to frequent intercourse with Norway, where the disease was unusually rife. The fact that it lingered on in Shetland for a century or two after it had generally disappeared in Scotland may be explained in the same way. The last leper died in Shetland in 1798. There was, however, one later case in Edinburgh in 1809.

In the designation 'Lazar House,' often met with in regard to leper hospitals, there is obvious reference to that model of patient sufferers, the Lazarus of the Gospel narrative, who lay at the rich man's gate 'full of sores.' In some countries the same Lazarus (declared to be a saint in heaven by Our Lord Himself) was the patron of such institutions. Doubtless the thought of the reprobation of the unhappy rich man for his heartless neglect of the miserable object at his palace gate had much to do with fostering the tender charity which led the rich in the ages of faith to provide bountifully for similar poor outcasts.

ALMSHOUSES

It has already been remarked that many of the hospitals enumerated above may have combined more than one purpose; some of them, indeed, may have been what we should call almshouses and not

¹ Chambers, vol. i, p. 227.

refuges for the sick ; but the dearth of records prevents accurate knowledge. We are not left in doubt regarding those which follow, which were certainly instituted primarily as homes for the aged poor.

The buildings devoted to this class of hospital were arranged similarly to those of a small college. There was a chapel, a residence for the master, a common hall for meals and rooms for the pensioners. The ancient Hospital of St Thomas at Northampton consists of a building divided into small rooms, connected with a beautiful Gothic chapel which many years since was acquired by purchase, and restored to Catholic worship. A residence for master or chaplain stood apart. At St Cross, near Winchester, the arrangement was something after the fashion of a Carthusian monastery ; there was a common hall and a chapel and separate chambers, all grouped round a central court.

ABERDEEN

The institution founded by Bishop Gavin Dunbar, not far from his cathedral in Old Aberdeen, will serve as a fair example of such hospitals as we are now considering ; for, luckily, many interesting particulars remain concerning the daily life of its inmates as well as its origin. The foundation charter was dated 23 February, 1532. It was ratified by James V on the same day at Edinburgh. Unhappily, the generous founder did not live to see the fulfilment of his desires ; he died in the month following. The bishop prescribed that the hospital should be dedicated to St Mary. The house was to measure 100 feet in length and 32 in breadth ; it was to contain six cells on either side, with a hall for meals at the

west end and a chapel towards the east; a wooden steeple containing a bell was to crown the building.

A manse was to be provided for the chaplain, who was to serve one of the altars in the cathedral. The twelve bedesmen were to be such as had no wives; they must have been either resident upon the lands of the bishop or have taken part in the building of the cathedral (for Bishop Dunbar had completed the structure by adding the two western towers and the south transept), or have served in the King's army, or taken part in the defence of the rights of the city of Aberdeen. In default of such candidates, any persons in misery who claimed pity might be received. No inmate, except in extraordinary cases, might be less than sixty years of age.

The bedesmen were bound to pray four times daily in their oratory and once at midnight. They were to be present at Mass daily in the cathedral. In public processions they were to appear clad in their white gowns.

Over the entrance of the hospital were carved the arms of James V on one side and of the founder on the other. An inscription ran: *Duodecim pauperibus domum hanc Reverendus Pater Gavinus Dunbar hujus alme sedis quondam pontifex edificari jussit anno a Christo nato MDXXXII.*

In English it would read: 'The Reverend Father Gavin Dunbar, formerly bishop of this see, caused this house to be built for the use of twelve poor persons in the year of Christ 1532.'¹

There are no remains of the hospital, but the revenues are still given to certain of the poor of the city.

¹ Collec. Aberd. and Banff, *passim*.

TURRIFF

An ancient Celtic monastery is said to have been founded here by St Congan, an Irish saint of the eighth century. It stood on a lofty bank overlooking the valley of the Deveron. In the thirteenth century it became attached to the Abbey of Arbroath. About 1272 St Congan's Hospital was founded by the Earl of Buchan, who endowed it for a rector, six chaplains, who were to live in community, and thirteen poor husbandmen of Buchan. Nothing remains of the buildings except the choir and belfry of the old church which served for the parish church. Some years ago a curious old wall painting of St Ninian was discovered in the chancel; it is supposed to have formed part of a series of such decorations. The pre-Reformation bell, dated 1557, now hangs in the old belfry, although for about thirty-four years it had served for the new church, to which it had been transferred.

GLASGOW

Passing over the mention of other institutions of the kind whose history possesses little of interest, we may take a cursory glance at those of Glasgow. The chief almshouse in the city was that dedicated to St Nicholas. It was founded by Bishop Andrew Muirhead, about the year 1455. The buildings of this hospital stood on the west side of Castle Street, not far from the bishop's palace. A beautiful Gothic chapel formed their chief feature, and a manse for the chaplain, who filled also the position of master, stood near it. The institution was provided for the lodging and sustenance of twelve poor men. Women

nurses were employed to minister to the infirm inmates.

After the Reformation those who were bound to pay the annual rents neglected for the most part to do so; consequently the buildings fell to ruins. In 1795 the remains of the chapel had been converted into a cowhouse—one example out of many of the loss of the spirit of reverence towards sacred objects and places characteristic of the Scottish Reformation.

In the same quarter of the city, near the gate called Stable Green Port, a house of a similar kind was founded in 1491 by Ronald Blackader, sub-dean of Glasgow Cathedral. It was called in familiar speech the 'Back Almshouse.' It was more particularly intended for the benefit of the poor and indigent casually coming to the city, persons whom in these days we should call 'tramps.' An honest man and his wife were placed in charge of the house and were required to keep six beds always prepared. There seems to have been no chapel attached, as the master was always to officiate at the altar of St John and St Nicholas in the cathedral, which was endowed for his support. This institution became merged into St Nicholas' Hospital later.

An ancient hospital dedicated to St John, was situated at Polmadie, on the west side of the Clyde, above Glasgow Green. It seems probable that it was founded by one of the bishops of the city, as they possessed the right of presentation. It was in existence before 1316, when it is mentioned in a charter of King Robert the Bruce. In the same year Bishop Robert appointed Sir Patrick Floker to be master of the hospital and to exercise authority over the inmates. The institution was intended for

the support of poor men and women. A precept of Bishop Matthew in 1391 directed the master and brothers to receive Gillian de Waux as a sister and portioner of the house during her life. Other records speak of the 'poor brothers and sisters' dwelling in the hospital. The revenues of St John's were transferred to the collegiate church of Dumbarton in the fifteenth century, about the same period as the foundation of St Nicholas' Hospital, Glasgow. The latter may, perhaps, have been intended to carry on the work of the more ancient institute. No vestige of Polmadie Hospital is remaining.

EDINBURGH

The almshouse in this city about which we possess most information was the hospital of St Thomas in the Canongate. It was founded in 1541 by George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, a former abbot of Holyrood Abbey, near which the hospital was built. The founder endowed the establishment for the support of seven poor and aged men. Two chaplains were attached to the almshouse, who were required to say Mass at the altars of St Andrew and St Catherine in the abbey church. The bedesmen were bound to rise at 8 o'clock—a late hour for those days. The arrangement affords an idea of the merciful spirit of such institutions for worn-out and aged pensioners. They were required to say certain prescribed prayers before the altars of the church in behalf of the souls of the founder and other benefactors. These prayers consisted of fifteen *Pater Noster*, fifteen *Ave Maria*, and three *Credo*, in honour of God, the Blessed Virgin, St Andrew, and St Catherine. On Sundays and festivals they wore

red gowns at High Mass, and also when taking part at any time in processions. Their Sunday and feast day prayers consisted of five *Pater*, fifty *Ave*, and one *Credo*,—equivalent to a Rosary; at Vespers two Rosaries were prescribed. They were forbidden to beg of anyone under pain of expulsion. Although this establishment was continued after the Reformation as a hospital for the poor, the revenues were squandered. In 1778 the building was demolished.¹

The old Maison Dieu, in Greyfriars, which had fallen into decay, was reconstituted by James V and dedicated to St Magdalen. Michael and Janet Macqueen contributed to the revenues for the support of seven bedesmen and a chaplain. The benefactress was buried in the chapel in 1547.

St Mary's Hospital, in Leith Wynd, was founded by Bishop Spens, of Aberdeen, in 1479, for twelve poor men. It was made into a workhouse in 1619, having been granted to the magistrates at the Reformation. Its chapel, dedicated to St Paul, procured for it in later times the name of 'Paul's Work'.² This is not to be confounded with St Paul's Hospital already mentioned.

Ballantyne's Hospital, standing by the road leading from Edinburgh to Dalkeith, may be reckoned as one of the city almshouses. It was founded by Robert Ballantyne, Abbot of Holyrood, for seven poor folk, under a master.³

STIRLING

An old almshouse in this city calls for a word or two of reference by reason of the circumstances of

¹ Chalmers (Edinburghshire, sect. viii.)

² Wilson, vol. ii, p. 132.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 94.

its foundation. It owed its existence to the charity of Robert Spittal, tailor to King James IV, who provided thus for decayed merchants and tradesmen of the city. It stood near the gate of St Mary's Wynd. In an old house in the neighbourhood a stone tablet of still older date has carved upon it the representation of a pair of tailor's scissors, with the inscription: 'This hous is foundit for support of ye puir be Robert Spittal, tailyour to James ye 4th. Anno 1530, R. S.' The unusual surname, coupled with the fact of this foundation, would suggest that the name was popularly bestowed upon the founder in recognition of his benefaction.

RESTS FOR PILGRIMS AND TRAVELLERS

In what may be styled the Monastic Ages monasteries were the recognized stopping-places for travellers. The reception of strangers to rest on their journey was carefully provided for by the founders of religious orders in the early centuries. The monks of the East were renowned for their hospitality to travellers, and later legislators followed their example. St Benedict, whose rule survived those of all other western founders, gives minute instructions on the subject. It has been remarked that nowhere is his tender forethought more remarkable than in the provision made for the care of guests and strangers, in whom he required his sons to recognise our Lord Himself.

Later on, when travelling became more general, although monasteries as long as they lasted were noted for hospitality, it would have been subversive of their monastic discipline to receive the multitudes always passing from place to place. It was then

that hostels came into being, where lodging and refreshment for travellers were provided for payment by secular owners. Still there was often need of some lodging-place for those who were either altogether destitute or too poor to afford the necessary payment; in many localities, moreover, there were no monasteries at hand. Hence arose hospitals (a title akin to hostel) to supply the want.

A remarkable example of this kind of charity is found in the establishment at Jerusalem by the Knights of St John of a hospital for pilgrims capable of holding 2000 persons, with an infirmary for the sick in connection with it. Their charity in this respect won for them the popular title of Hospitallers. Every country of Europe in the middle ages could boast of numerous establishments of a like kind if on a humbler scale.

We may now take a brief view of some of the more important of the Scottish foundations of this class—less numerous than hospitals for the sick and indigent.

ABERDOUR

James, first Earl of Morton, at the instigation of Sir John Scot, vicar of Aberdour and canon regular of Inchcolm Abbey, founded in 1474 a hospital for pilgrims to the holy well—probably called after St Fillan the patron of the church—for which Aberdour was famed. He dedicated it to ‘God and His Blessed Mother Mary, Our Lady ever Virgin, and to the Blessed Martha, the hostess of Our Lord.’ In the concluding words we see expressed the truly Christian idea that Christ was received in the person of the stranger. The care of the institution was given

to the vicar and his successors. In 1487 a change was made in the management. The hospital was handed over to four Sisters of the Third Order of St Francis, who were constituted guardians by Papal charter, receiving all the rights both of a hospital and of a convent of that particular branch of their order. The four sisters were named Isobel Wight (appointed superior for life), Jean Wight, Frances Henryson, and Jean Drosse. A school for girls was also added. The hospital lasted for seventy-three years only. At the Reformation the Sisters transferred the lands of the hospital to the Earl of Morton. These consisted of the eight acres commonly called 'The Sisterlands,' together with their place and garden in the town of Aberdour.¹

ST ANDREWS

The buildings and endowments of St Leonard's Hospital, or Lesser Guest House for pilgrims, in connection with the Augustinian Priory of St Andrews, were appropriated by Prior Hepburn in 1512 for the foundation of St Leonard's College in the university.

SOUTRA

This hospital, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was perhaps the most liberally endowed institution of the kind in Scotland. It stood near the summit of a lofty hill, rising some 1200 feet above the sea, distant about seventeen miles from Edinburgh. King Malcolm IV was its munificent founder in 1164. He destined it for the relief of pilgrims and of the

¹ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, p. 500, and Proc. Soc. Antiq. vol. iii, p. 214 *seq.*

poor and sick. This was one of the holy places in Scotland which enjoyed the privilege of 'sanctuary'—in other words, criminals flying from justice or the weak from oppressors might not be molested as long as they remained there. At Soutra, as in other such sanctuaries, the privileged space was marked out by crosses connected by chains, and the person taking refuge within those boundaries was safe from pursuit. As it stood near the road leading to the capital, as well as to one which led across the moors to the renowned abbey of Melrose, this house must have been greatly frequented. Later monarchs added to the revenues, so that the hospital enjoyed great possessions for many centuries. Some of its masters were men of note. One of them, Thomas Lauder, who had been tutor to James II, became Bishop of Dunkeld in 1453. Queen Mary of Gueldres, widow of James II, appropriated the revenues for the foundation of Holy Trinity collegiate church and hospital, Edinburgh, in the fifteenth century. Some ruins of the church of Soutra Hospital still remain. The titles 'Girth Gate' and 'Cross Chain Hill,' lingering in the neighbourhood, recall the place of sanctuary. 'Tarnty' or Trinity Well, near the church, is still pointed out.

LINLITHGOW

In the time of Alexander II a monastery of the Order of St Lazarus stood at the east of the town. The order was an offshoot from that of the Knights of St John, and the houses were founded chiefly for the benefit of lepers and indigent members of the military orders. The Linlithgow house seems to have fallen into decay, and James I (1424-6) restored

it as a hospice for pilgrims, dedicating it to St Mary Magdalene. It stood at the foot of an eminence called 'Pilgrims' Hill.'

BRIDGE OF SPEY

Muriel de Polloc, Lady of Rothes, founded a hospital for the reception of poor travellers on the bank of the Spey, near the point where the Highland Railway now crosses the river between the Orton and Mulben stations. The establishment was dedicated to St Nicholas. The foundress and others—King Alexander II among them—added to the original revenues. The position of this rest-house on the direct route from the south to the famous shrine of St Duthac at Tain, suggests the reason of its foundation in this particular locality. The vicinity of another favourite place of pilgrimage—the Well of Grace, Speyside—may have had influence also in determining the site.

IV. FAIRS

THE gatherings for the purpose of merchandise commonly known as fairs (as distinguished from markets, which are more frequent and of less importance) are rapidly decreasing in Great Britain, and will soon have become a relic of past ages; yet once they occupied a very important place in the social life of the people. The multiplication of larger centres of commerce, the facilities afforded by railways and other means of traffic, and numerous changes of the kind have combined to render fairs less necessary; in districts where they have survived, pleasure and amusement preponderate over serious business. Yet there is much that is of interest in their history, especially to those who take delight in anything connected, even remotely, with the Church of past ages. That such connection exists in this case will be shown later.

The origin of fairs is of such remote antiquity that it cannot be ascertained with accuracy; we may note that the Prophet Ezechiel refers (chapter 27) to the markets of Tyre. Such gatherings must have come about as soon as the needs of social life increased in any nation. Primitive peoples had few wants, but the time would come when a division of labour would become essential in order to provide adequately for the daily requirements of a nation. Simple home needs—food, clothing, implements of husbandry and other appliances of life—would be carried to fixed

centres and there disposed of to those who might wish to acquire them. Later on needs of a more important kind—cattle, horses, and farm stock of every species—would have to be provided for, and some particular meeting-place designated for such sales and purchases. Hence the growth of fairs among civilised nations.

The localities fixed upon for these gatherings would be settled by circumstances ; a convenient position near converging lines of roads, an important town, a much-frequented ford and the like would suggest the choice. But in order to render them really beneficial to the people concerned it was necessary to safeguard their procedure by legal approbation, since, as is apparent, mere private arrangement could never secure stability of place or freedom from confusion. Consequently we find at an early date in European history the accepted principle that no fair or market could be established in any particular locality without royal license. The oldest charter of the kind known is that of Dagobert, King of the Franks ; he had founded the Abbey of St Denis in the year 638, and granted to the abbot and monks of that monastery an annual fair on the patronal feast, ‘for the glory of God and honour of St Denis.’

The grant of a fair made in favour of any particular person or community secured to those thus distinguished the sole right to trade ; all others who wished to make use of the fair for the purpose of buying or selling were therefore bound to acknowledge the claim of the superior to exact certain dues in return for the privilege afforded them. In some cases all business of the kind was prohibited within a certain specified radius of the place where the fair

was being held. At Winchester, for example, where William the Conqueror had granted to the bishop the right of an annual fair on the feast of St Giles, the magistrates were accustomed to deliver up the keys of the city to the prelate, who appointed his own officials for the sixteen days of the fair; Winchester and Southampton were forbidden to trade elsewhere than at the fair, and officers of the bishop were posted along the highway to seize any goods purchased within seven miles of its site.

SCOTTISH FAIRS

To come more immediately to the subject of Scottish fairs, their chief interest, as already hinted, is their connection with ancient festivals of the Church. The commonly accepted derivation of the word 'fair' is from the Latin *feria*—'holiday,' the latter term being, it is evident, but a popularised form of 'holy day.' A modern survival of ancient usage is seen in the word used in Germany for both Mass and fair—*messen*; a like instance is the term *kermis*, still bearing the same double signification among the country people of Flanders. The history of the middle ages shows clearly that many fairs originated with the observance of solemn festivals. The assembling of the faithful for the offices of Church was found a convenient occasion for the transaction of business after spiritual duties had been fulfilled. By degrees such informal meetings in the church-yard would develop into more public assemblies in the town itself or before the gate of the monastery to whose church the people had thronged; then in due course would come the application for royal approval, and a legal fair was the result. The other com-

ponents—vendors of refreshments, trinkets, toys and the like, as well as itinerant actors and musicians—would naturally be attracted to the scene by the prospect of gain.

It may be imagined how important a part such fairs must have occupied in the ages of faith. No town of any considerable importance but had its two or three fairs at stated intervals; even smaller villages—some of them now extinct—had such a gathering on the titular feast of the parish church, should the situation of the place render it convenient. In some localities fairs were not restricted to patronal feasts of the parish church and of the various chapels in the neighbourhood; prominent days were chosen for the purpose—often some special Sunday of the ecclesiastical year.¹ Thus Aberdeen obtained a charter in 1273 for a fair lasting for fourteen days from Trinity Sunday, and when some reason occurred in 1319 for a change of day, Low Sunday was chosen. Several other instances of Trinity fairs are to be found; that of Duns, in Berwickshire (granted 1489) lasted for eight days, as did also that held in Edinburgh (1447). There is record of two or three fairs having been held on Palm Sunday, which would not suggest itself at first sight as a very suitable occasion, yet like many others was doubtless chosen because of the general attendance on that day at the services of the Church; that at Forgue, a small place in Aberdeenshire, lasted for five days. Maundy Thursday was still more popular. James IV, in 1492, granted a charter in favour of the Abbot of Coupar, by the terms of which a Burgh Cross (the sign of a legal market)

¹ *Vide, passim*, New Stat. Acct., Forbes' Kalendar, Proc. Soc. Antiq., and Marwick.

might be erected before the gate of the monastery and an annual fair held '*in Cæna Domini*.' The great Fair at Melrose, another Cistercian abbey 'in the time of Popery,' as Protestant evidence states, was that on Maundy Thursday, popularly styled 'Skeir Thursday.' Shrove Tuesday, or 'Fastrens Eve,' had its fair in some localities. Other prominent fair days were Ascension and Pentecost.

'Roodmas' fairs were held in some instances on the May festival—Finding of the Cross; others called 'Rood Fair in Harvest,' on the feast of the Exaltation, in September.

FAIRS ON SAINTS DAYS

Fairs held on festivals of the Blessed Virgin Mary were very numerous. The feasts of her Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, Nativity, and Immaculate Conception were celebrated in this fashion in various places in Scotland. The nomenclature of some of these days is worthy of note here. The Purification always appears in such records as 'Candlemas'; other feasts were designated by titles less familiar to us in these days, but evidently in constant use in earlier centuries. The Annunciation is styled 'Lady Day in Lentron' and 'Our Lady's Day in Lent'; the Assumption often appears as 'Fyrst Lady Day,' 'Lady Day in Autumn,' 'Marymas' (since it ranks as her chief feast), 'St Mary in Autumn,' and the like. Some of the above terms are explained by those attributed to her Nativity; this is called 'Latter Lady Day,' 'Latter Lady Day in Harvest,' and 'Latter Mary Day.' The Immaculate Conception is styled 'Lady Day' simply in the three instances which occur; one of these (in 1536)—the fair at Selkirk

—lasted for eight days, and is a remarkable example of the popular observance of what some might regard as a modern feast.

It is certain that more than forty fairs were held in Scotland on different feasts of the Blessed Virgin, and it is possible that there were numerous others whose records have disappeared. Many of them lasted for eight days; others for three days. In many cases, though not all, the parish church of the town or district had St Mary for its titular; in some instances votive chapels of the Blessed Virgin were the scenes of such assemblies. At Banff, as also at Fochabers, in Morayshire, fairs were held on all her five festivals enumerated above; it is curious that the charter in favour of the former town was renewed after the Reformation, granting a fair 'on all days formerly dedicated to the Virgin Mary' (1592).

Next after the Blessed Virgin's fairs come those of St Michael. At least twenty-two were held on his feast in various parts of Scotland. Although many churches bore his name as titular, it may not have been out of devotion, but rather from utility, that Michaelmas suggested itself as a suitable time for a fair. In many places the harvest would be over and in most others far advanced, and this may have had something to do with the choice. The four 'term times' in Scotland were Candlemas, Pentecost, Lammas, and Martinmas; Michaelmas was never a quarter-day in the northern kingdom as it is still in England, and this fact renders such fairs more striking. Those of Kilichael in Ayrshire and Kil-michael-Glassary in Argyll were due to the dedication of their churches to the Archangel.

St Peter was next in popularity to St Michael as

patron of fairs. At one time there were as many as twenty held on his feast in various parts of Scotland, and some of them still survive. The festival was known as 'Petermas.' Haddington Fair lasted for the octave; Fortrose in Ross-shire, Houston in Renfrewshire, and Rathven in Banffshire, with possibly some others, claimed St Peter as titular of their churches. The last-named place, a village of a fishing district, was appropriately placed under his patronage; it is one of the localities in which the annual fair is still held, not on the proper feast day, for Presbyterian Scotland ignores the saints, but on a fixed Friday about that date. 'Peter Fair,' as it is called, now takes place in a large meadow near the railway station, to which it was removed long ago from the vicinity of the church, where a chantry of the ancient Catholic building is still standing in the churchyard.

The most noteworthy of the fairs held in honour of the Prince of the Apostles, with whom in this instance is associated St Paul, is that which still takes place annually in the city of Glasgow. Its origin is of great antiquity, for it was granted at the petition of Bishop Jocelin about the year 1190. It is held for eight days from the octave day of the festival, a remarkable exception to the usual practice. 'Glasgow Fair' is the chief public holiday time in the city, when the working classes are as far as possible released from their ordinary labours and everyone is bent upon amusement.

'Lammas,' or the feast of St Peter's Chains (August 1), being one of the term days, was a convenient time for fairs; there were as many as thirteen of them. Of these, Huntly (1488) and Newburgh

in Aberdeenshire, Fettercairn in Kincardineshire, Maybole in Ayrshire, and Merton in Berwickshire lasted through the octave; others extended to two and three days respectively.

Among fairs named after other Apostles are those of St Matthew, St Bartholomew, St Jude, SS Simon and Jude, SS Philip and James, St Luke (under the name of 'Lukemas'), St Barnabas, St Andrew ('Andrewmas'), and a goodly number called after St James. Many of them lasted for eight days.

Midsummer fairs were numerous. That at Ayr, of which St John Baptist was patron, lasted for fifteen days. Those of Dumbarton and of Fraserburgh in Aberdeenshire were extended through the octave. Perth (another city dedicated to the Baptist and popularly known as 'John's Town') had not only a midsummer fair, but one on August 29, the Beheading of St John, called the 'Harvest Fair.'

Martinmas, a term time, was a favourite day for fairs; some of them evidently owed their origin to the business aspect of the day rather than the ecclesiastical. Hallowmas, or All Saints, had also some fairs.

To instance other fair days whose patron saints are familiar to Catholics we may mention those of St Clement, St Nicholas, St Cuthbert, St Denis, St Leonard, St Mauritius, M., St Patrick, St Thomas of Canterbury, St Jerome (whose fair at Banff was of six days' duration), St Magdalen, St Helen and St Margaret: the latter, being a prominent patron of the country—the saintly Queen, whose feast was called 'Margaretmas'—is one whose name we might expect to find in such a connection, but scarcely St Margaret the Virgin Martyr of Antioch, whose

fair lasted for eight days at Kirkliston in Linlithgowshire. It is curious that at Kincardine there were two fairs of St Catherine each year (1540); one in May, known as 'St Catherine in the Summer,' was in honour of the Sienese saint; the other, 'St Catherine in the Winter,' referred to the Virgin Martyr of Alexandria, and was held on November 25. St Francis (for eight days, at Mauchline, Ayrshire, 1510), St Anne, St Antony, St Apollinaris are also to be found; the latter saint's fair at Inverury in Aberdeenshire was vulgarly known as 'Pollnar's' and lasted eight days (1558).

All these saints are fairly familiar to us, but there are numerous others whose very names will strike some readers as utterly strange; these are the ancient saints of the country, whose cultus in many instances has altogether ceased and in others has been restored of late years. The interest attaching to the fairs of such saints is this: they are frequently the only surviving trace of the patrons once so greatly honoured; in some few cases the mere name is left and cannot be identified with that of any known saint. It was chiefly on account of the rapidly vanishing memory of many of these fairs, and the prospect of the loss in many cases of all trace of the patron of many an ancient church or chapel in Scotland, that it seemed to the writer desirable to give in this article a list of all Scottish fairs, arranged according to counties. With the help of a valuable compilation made by Sir David Marwick, Town Clerk of Glasgow, of numerous grants made at various times, and with the addition of fresh matter collected from other sources, a list as complete as possible has been drawn up, and is here appended.

LIST OF SCOTTISH FAIRS

MANY of these have fallen into desuetude, but a certain number are still kept. The name of the County is given in the case of the less familiar localities.

Shrove Tuesday. Fyvie (Aberdeenshire).

Palm Sunday. Perth, Inverness, Forgue (Aberdeenshire).

Holy Thursday. Coupar Angus, Bervie (Kincardineshire), Melrose.

Ascension Day. Stirling, Annan (Dumfriesshire), Bervie (Kincardineshire).

Whit Sunday. Dunblane, Echt (Aberdeenshire), Fortrose (Ross-shire), Jedburgh, Pincaitland (Haddingtonshire).

Trinity Sunday. Aberdeen, Berwick, Brechin, Edinburgh, Spynie (Morayshire), Rutherglen (Lanarkshire), Duns (Berwickshire).

'Christ's Fair.' In May at Kennethmont (Aberdeenshire).

'Senzie Market.' St Andrews.

FAIRS ON FEASTS OF THE B. VIRGIN MARY

Candlemas. Aboyne (Aberdeenshire), Banff, Fochabers, Kinloss (Morayshire).

Annunciation. Banff, Fochabers (Morayshire), Geddes (Nairnshire), Nairn.

Assumption. Banff, Boharm (Banffshire), Dundee, Fochabers, Inverness, Irvine (Ayrshire), Kilmalie (Inverness-shire), Kinloss, Kintore (Aberdeenshire), Rattray (extinct village in Aberdeenshire).

Nativity. Dunglass (Haddingtonshire), Dunnet (Caithness-shire), Fochabers (Morayshire), Monymusk, (Aberdeenshire), Ballinclach (Wigtonshire), Banff, Bervie, Boharm, Bonnakettle (Aberdeenshire), Brora (Sutherlandshire), Dunbar, Greenlaw (Berwickshire), Inverurie (Aberdeenshire), Irvine, Saltcoats (Ayrshire), Stirling, Terregles (Kirkcudbrightshire).

Immac. Concep. Banff, Inverbroray (Sutherlandshire), Selkirk, Fochabers.

VARIOUS SAINTS' FAIRS

'Aikey Fair.' Old Deer (Aberdeenshire).

St Aloyne. Clyne (Sutherlandshire).

„ *Andrew.* Alford (Aberdeenshire), Golspie (Sutherlandshire), Kirkintilloch (Dumbartonshire).

„ *Angus.* Falkland (Fifeshire), Edinburgh, Kingshouse (Perthshire).

„ *Anne.* Inveruchill (Perthshire).

- St Antony.* Hakertown (Kincardineshire).
 „ *Apollinaris.* Inverurie (Aberdeenshire).
 „ *Barchan.* Kilbarchan (Renfrewshire), Tain (Ross-shire).
 „ *Barnabas.* Drem (Haddingtonshire), Crawford, (Lanarkshire), Douglas (Lanarkshire).
 „ *Barr.* Dornoch, Eddlestone (Peebleshire).
 „ *Bartholomew.* Peebles, Clackmannan.
 „ *Boisil.* St Boswell's (Roxburghshire).
 „ *Boniface.* Fortrose.
 „ *Brandan.* Inverary (Argyllshire), Kilbirnie (Ayrshire).
 „ *Brioc.* Rothesay, Cumbræ.
 „ *Callen.* Roggarth (Sutherlandshire).
 „ *Caral.* Ruthven (Aberdeenshire).
 „ *Caran.* East Anstruther.
 „ *Carden.* Loth (Sutherlandshire).
 „ *Catherine.* Newburgh (Fifeshire), Pitlessie (Fifeshire) Bowden (Roxburghshire), Kincardine (2).
 „ *Causnan.* Dunnichen.
 „ *Clement.* Pittenweem (Fifeshire), Burntisland (Fifeshire).
 „ *Columba.* Aberdour (Fifeshire), Largs (Argyllshire), Fort Augustus (Inverness-shire), Dunkeld, Drymen (Stirlingshire).
 „ *Congan.* Turriff (Banffshire).
 „ *Conval.* Pollokshaws (Renfrewshire).
 „ *Cuthbert.* Ruthwell (Dumfriesshire), Ordiquhill (Banffshire).
 „ *David.* Ballegarno, Kennoway.
 „ *Denis.* Rothiemay (Banffshire), Peebles, Newmilns (Ayrshire), Drem (Haddingtonshire).
 „ *Devenick.* Methlick, Milton of Glenesk.
 „ *Donan.* Auchterless, Kildonan.
 „ *Drostan.* Rothiemay, Aberlour, Old Deer.
 „ *Fergus.* Wick, Glammis (Forfarshire).
 „ *Fillan.* Kilellan.
 „ *Finan.* Glenfinan (Argyllshire).
 „ *Fintan.* Migvie (Aberdeenshire).
 „ *Fotin.* Torry (Kincardineshire).
 „ *Francis.* Mauchline (Ayrshire).
 „ *Fumac.* Botriphnie, Dunnet and Watten (Caithness).
 „ *Fyndoc.* Dunning.
 „ *Gilbert.* Dornoch.
 „ *Giles.* Elgin.
Hallowmas. Aboyne, Beaully, Campbeltown, Dunblane.
St Helen. Greenock.
 „ *Inan.* Beith.
 „ *James.* Ballinlach (Wigtonshire), Cupar Fife (Forfarshire), Garvoch (Kincardineshire), Kinghorn (Fifeshire),

- Kelso, Musselburgh, Ordiquhill, Roxburgh, Sanquhar (Dumfriesshire).
- St Jerome.* Banff.
- „ *John Baptist.* Ayr, Dumbarton, Fraserburgh, Perth, Galashiels (Selkirkshire), Cannock (Kincardineshire), Dalmeny (Linlithgowshire), Ellon (Aberdeenshire), Eddleston (Peebleshire).
- „ *Jude.* Glencuthell (Aberdeenshire).
- „ *Kessog.* Auchterarder, Comrie, Callander, Island of Cumbrae.
- ‘*Kirk Dandy*’ Fair. Barr.
- Lammas Fairs.* Beaully (Invernesshire), Campbeltown (Argyllshire), Cockburnspath (Berwickshire), Dalmellington (Ayrshire), Dumbarton, Fettercairn, Huntly, Newburgh, Maybole, Merton, Melrose, Turriff (Banffshire), Inverbroray (Sutherlandshire), Kirkwall.
- St Lawrence.* Dunblane, Forres, Greenock, Gretna, Hamilton, Laurencekirk (Kincardineshire), Old Rayne (Aberdeenshire), Saltcoats (Ayrshire), Selkirk, Strathaven (Lanarkshire).
- „ *Leonard.* Largo (Fifeshire).
- „ *Luke.* Old Aberdeen, Cromdale (Inverness-shire), Dalmeny (Linlithgowshire), Kinross, Reaster (Caithnesshire), Rutherglen.
- „ *Machan.* Kilmahoug.
- „ *Magdalen.* Pittenweem (Fifeshire), Fyvie (Aberdeenshire) Linlithgow.
- „ *Magnus.* Watten-Wester.
- „ *Maluag.* Ruthven (Forfarshire), Clatt, Tarland (Aberdeenshire), Milton of Balveny (Banffshire), Alyth (Perthshire).
- „ *Maree.* Pitlessie, Dingwall.
- „ *Margaret, Virgin.* Kirkliston.
- „ *Margaret, Queen.* Balquhapple (now Thornhill, Kincardineshire), Closeburn (Dumfriesshire).
- „ *Marnock.* Aberchirder, Paisley, Kilmacolm (Renfrewshire).
- „ *Marthom.* Ordiquhill.
- „ *Martin.* Ballater (Aberdeenshire), Balquhapple (Kincardineshire), Cadder (Lanarkshire), Cromarty, Cullen, Cupar-Fife, Dunbar, Dunvegan (Isle of Skye), Echt (Aberdeenshire), Hamilton, Inverness, Lauder (Berwickshire), Melrose, Newburgh (Aberdeenshire).
- „ *Matthew.* Culross, Cumnock (Ayrshire).
- „ *Mauritius.* Dounie (Inverness-shire).
- „ *Methven.* Fowlis Wester.
- „ *Michael.* Abercorn (Linlithgowshire), Aboyne (Aberdeenshire), Ashintully (Perthshire), Ayr, Beaully (Inverness-

shire), Crieff, Cambeltown (Argyllshire), Cromdale (Inverness-shire), Dalkeith, Drumlithie (Kincardineshire), Dumbarton, Forgue (Aberdeenshire), Fraserburgh, Galashiels, Inverary (Argyllshire), Inverbroray (Sutherlandshire), Kilmichael-Glassary (Argyllshire), Kinkell (Aberdeenshire), Kilmichael (Ayrshire), Leslie (Fifeshire), Nairn, Portsoy (Banffshire).

St Mirin. Paisley.

„ *Monoch.* Stevenson

„ *Mund.* Kilmun.

„ *Mungo.* Alloa.

„ *Murie.* Lairg.

„ *Nathalan.* Cowie, Old Meldrum.

„ *Nicholas.* Prestwick (Ayrshire), Wester Anstruther (Fifeshire), Earls Ferry (Fifeshire).

„ *Ninian.* Arbroath, Whithorn.

„ *Olaf.* Cruden (Aberdeenshire), Kirkwall (Orkney).

„ *Palladius.* Fordun.

„ *Patrick.* Dumbarton, Kirkpatrick Durham (Kincardinesh.)

„ *Peter.* Airth (Stirlingshire), Athelstaneford (Haddingtonshire), Biggar (Lanarkshire), Bowden (Roxburghshire), Burntisland (Fifeshire), Cromdale (Inverness-shire) Fortrose, Fyvie (Aberdeenshire), Glasgow, Haddington, Peebles, Kelso, Inveraven (Banffshire), Inverbroray (Sutherlandshire), Houston (Renfrewshire), Kenmore (Perthshire), Mereton (Wigtonshire), Thurso, Rathven (Banffshire), Whithorn.

SS. Philip and James. Pitlessie (Fifeshire).

St Pontian. Kinudie Easter (Aberdeenshire).

„ *Regulus.* Kennethmont.

‘*Roodmas.*’ Backles Hull (Caithness-shire), Beaully, Dumfries, Eddleston (Peeblesshire), Crail (Fifeshire), Greenlaw (Berwickshire), Kilmun (Argyllshire), Inverness, Jedburgh, Kilmonevaig (Inverness-shire), Rothiemay (Banffshire), Montrose, Stirling, Watten (Caithness-shire).

St Serf. Abercorn (Linlithgowshire), Culross, St Sair’s.

SS. Simon and Jude. Prestonpans, Cockenzie (Haddingtonshire), Kirkliston (Linlithgowshire).

St Talarican. Fordyce.

„ *Ternan.* Banchory-Ternan.

„ *Thomas of Canterbury.* Arbroath, Closeburn (Dumfries-shire), Crieff.

„ *Triduana.* Rescobie.

„ *Vigean.* Arbroath.

„ *Wynnin.* Kilwinning.

„ *Yrchard.* Kincardine O’Neil.

FAIRS OF LESS KNOWN SAINTS

WE may now proceed to notice the more obscure saints and the fairs called after them with a little more detail than was necessary in the case of those better known.¹ When possible the date of the charter granting or recognising the respective fairs will be given.

ST ALOYNE

All that is to be said about this saint is that a fair was held under his name at Clyne in Sutherlandshire.

ST ANGUS

At Edinburgh and at one or two other places a fair was held on the feast of this saint. He is said to have been a disciple of St Columba and to have preached the faith in Perthshire. Near the parish church of Balquidder in that county are the ruins of a chapel dedicated to him; a fair called after him '*Feil Aenais*' ('Angus' Fair') was formerly held here in August, which was the month on which his feast fell. Another fair at Falkland in Fife began on the eve of the festival and lasted for two days after it.

ST BARCHAN

All that is known of this saint is that he was an Irish bishop who laboured in Scotland for some years near Stirling. A fair was formerly held in December and was called by his name at Kilbarchan in Renfrew-

¹ Those readers who may wish for more information concerning these ancient saints will find them in the little *Calendar of Scottish Saints*, (Abbey Press, Fort Augustus, Scotland).

shire, which was evidently dedicated to him, and another in August at Tain in Ross-shire

ST BARR

This is St Finbar, Bishop of Cork in the sixth century. Many place-names of Scotland evidence a devotion to him. The chief of these is the island of Barra. Two of his dedications were Dornoch in Sutherlandshire and Eddleston in Peeblesshire; fairs were held at both places on his feast (25th September) every year.

ST BOISIL OR BOSWELL

This saint, who received great veneration in the Border country in Catholic times, was Prior of Mailros (Old Melrose) when St Cuthbert (afterwards his successor) entered religion. He died during a great pestilence in 664. The early calendars assign 23rd February as his feast; the Bollandists treat of him on 9th September. A fair, formerly on a very large scale was held in July, until recent years at the Border town of St Boswell's, named after the saint.

ST BONIFACE

This patron of Fortrose in Ross-shire was also called Curitan or Kiritan. He was an Irish bishop who laboured for some time in the north of Scotland to establish the Roman computation of Easter. A fair was held at Fortrose on his feast (16th March). He flourished in the eighth century.

ST BRANDAN

He was an Irish abbot, who founded many Scottish churches in the sixth century. Many dedications in Scotland speak of the great devotion in which he was

held there. His numerous missionary journeys by sea gained for him the title of 'Brandan the Voyager.' In one of these journeys he is thought to have touched the American continent. Two fairs were held on his feast day (16th May), at Inveraray in Argyll (1474) and at Kilbirnie ('Church of Brandan'), Ayrshire.

ST BRIOC

This British disciple of St Germanus had many dedications in Scotland. One of these was Rothesay in Bute, where his fair was held on St 'Brock's' Day. He became a bishop and founded a church in Brittany at the place now called St Brieuc. He died about the end of April, A.D. 500.

ST CALLEN

An annual fair under this name was held at Roggart in Sutherlandshire as late as 1630. No particulars of the saint are extant. The fair took place on 28th November each year.

ST CARAL

Up to 1847 a fair was held in May under this title at Ruthven in Aberdeenshire, but nothing is known about the saint.

ST CARAN

On 23rd December an annual fair, called after this saint, was held at Anstruther in Fifeshire. No particulars are known of the saint, except that he seems to have been honoured in the east of Scotland.

ST CARDEN

As late as 1630 a fair was held at Loth in Sutherlandshire under this name. No particulars of the saint are extant.

ST CAUSNAN

This saint is thought to be identical with St Constantine, a British king, who ended his days in penance in Scotland and is honoured as a martyr. There were many dedications to him. Dunnichen in Forfarshire was one, and there his fair was annually held. Pope Leo XIII restored his feast to the Scottish calendar (11th March) in 1898. He flourished in the sixth century.

ST COLUMBA

This famous abbot of Iona, one of the chief apostles of Scotland, is better known than many ancient saints of the country. He occupies a foremost rank among the saints of his age, and the dedications to him both in Scotland and Ireland are too numerous to mention. At least fifty churches were founded by him in Scotland alone. Fairs were held on his feast (9th June) at Aberdour in Fife (1500) and Dunkeld in Perthshire (1511), each for eight days; others were at Largs in Argyll and Fort Augustus in Invernessshire—the latter ceased within the memory of the writer.

ST CONGAN

This was an Irish prince who settled as a hermit in Argyll. Many churches and chapels bore his name in Scotland. Near that at Turriff in Banffshire a fair was formerly held on his feast (13th October) annually (1511). It was known as 'Cowan Fair'.

ST DAVID

Two fairs are noted under this name; at Balle-garno in Perthshire (13th June) and at Kennoway

in Fife (2nd March). The latter is evidently in honour of the great Welsh saint whose feast falls on 2nd March; the other patron is not recognisable, for King David I, popularly styled 'Saint' in Scotland, died on 24th May.

ST DEVENICK

A fair known as 'St Denick's' was held in November near the church of Methlick in Aberdeenshire, which is dedicated to a Scottish missionary named Devenick, who flourished in the sixth century. Another fair under the same title was at Milton of Glenesk in Forfarshire.

ST DONAN

At Auchterless in Aberdeenshire and at Kildonan in Sutherland fairs were customary on the feast of this Irish abbot, who was martyred with fifty-two of his monks after the celebration of Mass on Easter Day on the island of Eigg in the Hebrides, 17th April, 617. There was much devotion to these martyrs in Scotland. Leo XIII restored their feast in 1898.

ST DROSTAN

Fairs were held on the feast of this disciple of St Columba (11th December) at some five localities in Scotland. The chief was that of Old Deer in Aberdeenshire, which lasted formerly for eight days. This fair was still in existence a few years ago. Deer took its name from the tears (*deara*) shed by Drostan on parting with his beloved master, Columba. There was much devotion to St Drostan in Scotland, where his dedications were many. He flourished in the sixth century. His feast, formerly kept in

December, was fixed for 11th July, when restored by Leo XIII.

ST FERGUS

Fairs were customary at 'Fergusmas' (18th November) at Glammis in Forfarshire for five days (1491) and at Wick in Caithness. The saint was of Pictish race and founded many churches in the north of Scotland. He was probably present at a synod in St Peter's, Rome, during the pontificate of Pope Gregory II in 721. There was much devotion to him in Catholic ages. His feast was one of those restored by Leo XIII in 1898.

ST FILLAN

This abbot of Irish birth helped in the eighth century to evangelise Perthshire, where Strathfillan is named after him. At Killellan (formerly Kilfillan) in Renfrewshire, a fair was held on his feast (3rd February). There were many dedications to him. His festival has been restored to the Scottish calendar. St Fillan's crozier exists still in the National Museum, Edinburgh. We shall return to this saint when noticing Holy Wells.

ST FUMAC

Botriphine in Banffshire, formerly known as 'Fumac Kirk', had an annual fair in honour of its patron on 3rd May. See under Holy Wells.

ST FYNDOC

At Findo Gask, near Dunning in Perthshire, where once her chapel stood, a fair was held on 13th October annually in honour of this virgin saint. It lasted for eight days (1511). No particulars of her life are extant.

ST GILBERT

At Dornoch in Sutherland a fair was held on 1st April in honour of the saintly bishop who built the beautiful cathedral there in the thirteenth century; after his death, in 1245, the church began to be called by his name instead of that of the former titular, St Barr. The fair lasted for three days.

ST INAN

A fair was held up to a few years ago, and probably continues, on the feast of this patron saint of Beith in Ayrshire (30th August). Many place-names recall his memory, but little is known of the saint's history.

ST KESSOG

An ancient fair at Auchterarder in Perthshire (1200) recalled the feast of this saint, once kept in Scotland (10th March). He was an Irish bishop, and is said to have suffered martyrdom in Dumbartonshire (A.D. 560). There were other fairs in his honour at Comrie and Callander, both in Perthshire, and on the island of Cumbræ.

ST MACHAN

At Kilmahoug in Perthshire, one of his dedications (in which the saint's name has probably become corrupted), a fair was held in honour of this Scottish bishop, who flourished about the sixth century.

ST MAGNUS

The great martyr of Kirkwall in Orkney, whose body rests in the fine cathedral there, had a fair at Watten-Wester in Caithness on 'Magnusmas' (16th

April) ; St Magnus was martyred in 1116. His feast is one of those restored by Leo XIII.

ST MALUAG

This zealous Irish missionary (frequently designated Moluag) converted many to the faith in the western districts of Scotland and founded several churches. St Bernard in his 'Life of St Malachy' refers to the tradition that St Moluag (known as Lua) founded no less than one hundred monasteries. He was greatly honoured in Scotland. Several fairs were held on 25th June, his feast day. That at Clatt, lasted for eight days (1501). His feast is now restored to the Scottish calendar.

ST MAREE

This is one of the many forms of the name of a saint, properly called Maelrubha, an Irish abbot of the eighth century, who founded numerous churches in Scotland. More than twenty have been identified. More devotion was shown to this saint in the western districts of Scotland than to any other except St Columba. He had fairs at Pitlessie in Fifeshire (1540), and at Dingwall in Ross-shire, on 27th August ; his feast is now restored to the calendar.

ST MARNOCK

A fair was held at Paisley (1488) for eight days on the feast of this Celtic bishop of the seventh century. He was a zealous missionary of the faith, and his relics were long honoured in the church of Aberchirder in Banffshire, which he had founded. A fair, called 'Marnock Fair', was held there also (1st March), and another at Kilmacolm (Renfrewshire).

ST MARTHOM

On 20th September a fair was annually held under this name at Ordiquhill in Banffshire for eight days. Nothing is known about the saint in question.

ST METHVEN

A fair of great antiquity was formerly held at 'Methvenmas' (6th November) at Fowlis Wester in Perthshire. The church bore the saint's name, but nothing further is known of him. It is a curious fact that even in Protestant times the feast was kept as a parish holiday.

ST MIRIN

This was an Irish saint who helped to evangelise Scotland in the sixth century. He was buried at Paisley, where his shrine became a place of pilgrimage. When the Benedictine abbey was founded there in the twelfth century St Mirin continued to be one of the titulars. A fair of eight days was held there annually (1488) on his feast (15th September). He had many Scottish dedications.

ST MONOCH

From an old will of the sixteenth century it appears that the church of Stevenston in Ayrshire was dedicated to this saint. A fair called 'Sam Maneuke's' and 'St Monks' was formerly held there on 30th October each year. Up to 1845 a public procession was made on that day; it was evidently the surviving relic of a Catholic celebration of the patronal feast.

ST MUND

On 15th April the fair of this saint, an Irish abbot of the seventh century, was celebrated at the church of Kilmun in Argyllshire for eight days (1490). Besides this church, he founded a monastery in the neighbourhood, famous in its time. He returned to Ireland in later years.

ST MUNGO

This was the famous St Kentigern,—already mentioned more than once—founder and first bishop of the church of Glasgow, who flourished in the sixth and seventh centuries. His dedications were very numerous. At Alloa in Clackmannan an annual fair was held on his feast under his more popular designation of Mungo ('Beloved'). The saint's feast, falling on the octave day of the Epiphany, but kept on the following day, had long been celebrated by the Benedictines and Passionists in Scotland when Leo XIII restored it to the general Catholic calendar for that country.

ST MURIE

In 1630 a fair under this name, which is possibly a corruption of Maelrubha (Maree), was held annually at Lairg in Sutherlandshire.

ST NATHALAN

This was a holy bishop of Scottish nationality, who laboured much for the faith in Deeside, where he built many churches at his own cost. At Old Meldrum, one of these places, a fair was formerly held on or near his feast (January 8). Another took place at Cowie, Kincardineshire (1540), which was also one of his foundations.

ST NINIAN

He was one of the earliest apostles of the south of Scotland, a Briton by birth. A fair was held at Whithorn on the vigil of his feast (September 15) and for three days after it. Another was held at Arbroath (1459).

ST PALLADIUS

This saint was a Roman deacon who was consecrated bishop by Pope St Celestine I and sent to Ireland. He died, according to Scottish tradition, in the east of Scotland, where his relics were venerated at Fordun in Kincardineshire up to the Reformation. A fair of eight days ('Paldy Fair') was held there (1554) on his feast (July 7), and is recorded as 'most ancient' in origin. Leo XIII, who restored his feast, referred to the connection of this saint with Scotland in the Brief establishing the present Scottish hierarchy.

ST REGULUS

This saint, often designated St Rule, has been already referred to as patron of the Cathedral of St Andrews. At Kennethmont in Aberdeenshire 'Trewel Fair' was held from ancient times in October, when his feast was formerly kept.

ST SERF

This bishop of the sixth century is often called Servanus. He died in extreme old age at Culross in Perthshire, where a fair was annually held on his feast for many centuries. A custom prevailed there of walking through the streets in procession on that day (1st July); it was of ancient origin and lasted

until the accession of Queen Victoria, although the day had been changed a century earlier. It seems reasonable to suppose that this was a relic of the honour shown to the titular of the town. Other fairs were held at Abercorn in Linlithgowshire and St Sair's (or Serf's) in Aberdeenshire. The saint baptised and educated St Kentigern (or Mungo), patron of Glasgow.

ST TALARICAN

A fair of eight days (1499) was formerly held at Fordyce in Banffshire in honour of this saint, who was a bishop of Scottish race and flourished in the seventh century. Many dedications to him are to be found in Scotland, of which Fordyce was one. His name appears in many localities in place names; Kiltarlity, a large district of Inverness-shire, is one of the most prominent. His feast (30th October) was restored by Leo XIII.

ST TERNAN

This Scottish bishop has given the name to Banchory-Ternan in Aberdeenshire, where he was buried, and where his head was venerated as a precious relic more than a thousand years later. A fair was held there on his feast until quite recent times, and probably continues still. He flourished about the fifth century, and his festival was formerly kept on 12th June.

ST TRIDUANA

Though much that is legendary has become mixed up with the history of this virgin saint, there is sufficient evidence to prove that she was held in great devotion in Scotland. She lived for a time as

a solitary at Rescobie in Forfarshire, and there a fair was wont to be held on her feast (8 October) until it was transferred to Forfar about a century ago. It was known as 'St Trodlin's'; for her name has passed through many curious changes. In the many dedications which testify to her extreme popularity in different districts, it appears as Traddles, Tredwell, Trallen, and under other forms. We have already remarked that the saint's holy well, famous for curing diseases of the eye, was discovered at Restalrig, near Edinburgh, in 1907, and the building over it carefully restored.

ST VIGEAN

Up to the eighteenth century a fair was held yearly at Arbroath in honour of the Irish abbot Fechin, who is said to have lived for some time as a hermit in that neighbourhood, and was known in Scotland as Vigean. He flourished in the seventh century and was honoured on 20th January.

ST WYNNIN

This patron of the Abbey of Kilwinning in Ayrshire has been identified by modern scholars as St Finian, or Frigidian, an Irish abbot and master of St Columba. In later years he became Bishop of Lucca, in Italy, where his remains are still venerated in the Church of St Frigidian. At Kilwinning a fair was held on his feast, known as 'Winning's Day.'

ST YRCHARD

This Scottish bishop, is often known as Merchard (the prefix *mo*, in Gaelic, expressing affectionate reverence, being added); he was honoured in many

parts of the country as well as in his native place, Kincardine-O'Neil in Aberdeenshire, which he converted from paganism about the fifth century. His fair of eight days was formerly held there (1511).

There remain still one or two interesting fairs to be noticed which could not be classified with the above. A few words must suffice for each.

At Barr in Ayrshire a fair was customary previous to the year 1845, under the title of 'Kirk Dandy.' The meaning of the name cannot now be explained, but it has been suggested that 'Kirk Domini' may have been the original form. St Barr, or Finbar, was the titular of the place.

A curious fair was once held at Kennethmont in Aberdeenshire. It was known as 'Christ's Fair,' and was held in May on the green near Christ Church. It is supposed to be referred to in a ballad entitled *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, ascribed to King James I of Scotland (1406-37). The fair became popularly known as the 'Sleepy Market,' because it was held from sunset to sunrise next morning. About 1794 it was changed to the daytime, but the people were displeased at the innovation and it soon fell into disuse. It had disappeared before 1845.

At St Andrews a fair was held called 'Senzie Market'; it commenced on Monday after Low Sunday. Martine, the historian of St Andrews, thus speaks of it: 'The renowned faire of St Andrews, called the "Senzie Mercat," held and kept for fifteen days, and beginning the second wek after Easter, whereunto resorted merchants from most of the then trading kingdomes in Europe; trade in this kingdom being

then in its infancie.' The charter of 1581 ratifying this fair speaks of it as held 'from time immemorial.' There is a tradition that two or three hundred vessels might have been seen, laden with foreign merchandise for the fair, in the bay near the city.

Sir Walter Scott in *The Pirate* gives a graphic picture of a fair, such as any of the above might have appeared to a visitor, in his description of St Olla's, or St Olaf's Fair, in the Orkney Islands. It originally lasted for fourteen days, and, as he shows, was the great holiday of the year. To his pages we may refer the reader interested in such particulars. St Olaf, it may be remarked, was a Norwegian king and martyr, who strove to spread Christianity in the Orkneys, which formerly belonged to Norway.

We have given but a meagre account of some of the above saintly patrons of Scottish fairs, not because there was a dearth of information in regard to all, but rather from a fear of proving tedious. It would have been possible to add far more particulars about the lives of many of them.

It is cause for thankfulness that some at least of those who laboured and prayed centuries ago for the spiritual enlightenment and best interests of Scotland are beginning to emerge from the obscurity into which the proud contempt of heretical teachers had condemned them, and that not a few have been restored to their former position as recognised saints of the Catholic Church.

We may well hope that the Masses and offices now celebrated on their respective festivals will move those holy ones to more ardent supplication for the land they still love and have never ceased (we may

be sure) to intercede for before the throne of God. Their constant prayers cannot fail to bring down upon Scotland fresh supplies of grace which will result—we humbly pray—in the return of many souls to the unity of the Catholic faith.

V. HOLY WELLS

A STRIKING unanimity is evident in the writings of Protestants anent the holy wells, which are to be met with in so many localities in Great Britain, and are no less abundant in Scotland than in the oft-quoted treasury of such antiquities—Ireland. The writers in question, with very few exceptions, attribute to paganism not only the sacredness claimed for such fountains in primitive ages, but even the reverence which they have evoked in later and Christian times.

Thus the eminent Irish archæologist, Dr Reeves, after quoting the Book of Armagh as witness to the fact that St Patrick found in Ireland Druids who brought offerings to a certain well and worshipped it as a deity, draws the following conclusion: 'The transmission of this feeling to succeeding generations, under Christianity, may account for the esteem in which holy wells have ever been held by the Irish; a sentiment not likely to have been prompted by rarity or intrinsic value in an over-irrigated country.'¹ A Catholic cannot help resenting such a reflection upon the character of Irish Christianity; it was undoubtedly of a peculiar nature, if the 'feeling' that a fountain had been at one time looked upon as a pagan deity was sufficient to move Christians to regard that fountain as worthy of religious respect.

¹ Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 119.

In much the same spirit the writer of the article on 'Wells' in *Chambers' Encyclopædia* confuses Catholic devotion with pagan superstition. 'Christianity,' he remarks, 'only substituted a saint's name for the indigenous nature-deity; and water-worship held its place—in Brittany, in Ireland, in St Chad's baptismal well at Lichfield, St Milburga's at Much Wenloch, and hundreds of other places. The worship of fountains is condemned in the Canons of St Anselm (1102), but it continued for centuries afterwards.' Here Christian reverence for holy wells is clearly identified with pagan water-worship; for the writer seems to deplore the inability of the Church to root out an evil which had become fixed in the customary devotions of the people. The casual reader of the words just quoted would gather from them the idea that the Canons referred to had condemned the honour shown to holy wells as a relic of paganism; this was by no means the case. We have here an instance of the unscrupulous way in which some writers treat the Catholic religion. No matter how inane the charges brought against it, they are content to hand them on without taking the trouble to verify the authorities they quote. The Council of London, in 1102, far from condemning what the above writer styles 'the worship of fountains,' actually approved of the practice of holding in reverence those which were pronounced worthy of honour by the Church. The decree forbids the faithful to regard as holy, 'fountains, or anything else, without the sanction of the bishop.'

It cannot be denied that the worship of water held a prominent place in ancient mythologies. Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and others, had, all of them, water-

deities. The same is true of the savage tribes of America and Africa. The Hindus of the present day have still their sacred streams. Such veneration sprang, no doubt, from the absolute necessity of pure water for the sustentation of life, and would be encouraged by a pagan priesthood as a powerful means of preserving fountains and streams from defilement. A traveller in South Africa cannot help being struck by the superstitious care with which the native tribes, as long as they retain their heathenism, guard the purity of such natural reservoirs; although as soon as they have become even nominal Christians they neglect every ordinary precaution to the same end.

It is no less true that the Catholic Church, though combating idolatry in every form, permitted the retention by converted nations of many customs belonging originally to heathenism. An example in point is the attitude of St Gregory the Great towards the Anglo-Saxons. He had ordered the destruction of all pagan temples; but later on he sent a message to St Augustine, through Mellitus, modifying his previous injunctions. The temples were not to be cast down, but were to be sprinkled with holy water and set apart for the worship of the true God; altars were to be erected within them, and the relics of the saints enshrined there. The reason given by the Pontiff for such a mode of action is that when the people embrace Christianity they will 'more readily resort to the places with which they are familiar.' The same wise policy is shown in another enactment made by St Gregory at that time. 'Since it is their practice,' says the saint, 'to slay numerous oxen in the service of their devils, for this solemnity

let some corresponding one be substituted. On the day of the dedication of the church, or of the martyrs whose relics are deposited therein, they may construct tents of the branches of trees near the same churches into which the old temples have been converted, and celebrate their solemnities with religious festivity. Let them no longer sacrifice animals to the devil, but kill them for their own use, to the glory of God, and give thanks for their abundance to the Giver of all good things,'¹

It is not unlikely that the Church, in some instances, may have carried out a similar policy with regard to certain fountains, and by her solemn blessing rendered worthy of religious honour that which had been previously consecrated to pagan worship. Little direct evidence, however, is to be found of this. An example will be given later which tends to strengthen the opinion. No Catholic can doubt that the clergy would take care to impress upon their people the utterly different nature of the honour paid by pagans and Christians respectively. Taking this for granted, it is impossible to believe that the ancient superstitions would exercise a stronger influence than the teachings of faith. That in course of time, practices which originated in Catholic piety should degenerate into superstition when the Catholic faith had been lost, is more credible; indeed it must be owned that such was often the case. To this fact may be attributed, in great measure, the confusion evident in the minds of so many Protestant antiquarians.

The subject of holy wells, while interesting to the Protestant as well as to the Catholic must of necessity

¹ St Greg., Ep. xi, 76 (Migne).

attract each for reasons widely differing. The former sees in them nothing more than relics of antiquity, useful as affording information about the customs of men in ages past, and as supplying data in topographical and historical research, and the like. As to anything supernatural connected with them, he is altogether incredulous. If he believes in miracles at all, he limits their occurrence to the apostolic age. The cure of sick Jews in the Pool of Probatika will not move him to accept like wonders in a later era; and this in spite of undoubted miracles worked in our own day at Lourdes and Holywell.

A Catholic, on the other hand, firmly holds that God never disdains to exhibit the loving-kindness of His Providence in all that concerns His creatures, even to the extent of sometimes setting aside His ordinary laws in their regard. To such a one the cure of disease by means of some sacred spring presents no difficulty; he is persuaded that God can now, as always, make use of any instrument He may choose to work His will.

It is clear, then, that in the interesting inquiry as to the origin of holy wells, non-Catholic writers, as a rule, can help us little. One notable exception to those who would regard them as mere pagan relics must not, however, be passed over. Dr Hill Burton attributes their origin to early Christian missionaries. 'The principal cause,' he says 'of the sanctification of springs must, of course, be explained by the first of Christian ordinances. The spring close by the dwelling or cell of the saint, the spring on account of which he probably selected the centre of his mission, had not only washed the forefathers of the district from the stain of primeval heathenism, but

had applied the visible sign by which all, from generation to generation, had been admitted into the bosom of the Church.¹

The explanation is thoroughly satisfactory as far as it goes; but, while accounting for the origin of not a few holy wells, it cannot be extended to those which bear the names of Our Lady, of any of the apostles, or of other saints who never visited the country in which such springs are found. In at least two instances on record Dr. Burton's view is borne out by tradition. St Adamnan tells us that St Columba, in the course of his missionary journeys, was asked by a child's parents to baptise their infant. As no water was available, the saint, after praying awhile, signed with a cross a rock hard by, and forthwith a stream of water flowed from it, with which the saint regenerated the little pagan. The spot where the incident occurred is said to have been situated in Ardnamurchan, Argyllshire; and it is worthy of note that a spring of water there still bears St Columba's name.² A similar origin has been attributed to a spring which was produced from a grassy meadow by St Palladius. The *Breviary of Aberdeen* relates, in the lessons appointed for his feast, that the saint, desiring water wherewith to baptise his disciple, St Ternan, caused by his prayers a spring of water to gush forth. Though some modern critics take exception to the ancient legends of St Palladius, the tradition bears witness, at least, to the widely spread belief that in such a manner had been produced some of the wells considered sacred.

¹ Hill Burton, *Book Hunter*, p. 398.

² Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 40 (note).

In many instances, though there is every reason to believe that the well in question derived its saintly character from the blessing imparted to its waters by its traditional patron, yet its nearness to a spring or river disproves any miraculous origin either for baptism or any other purpose. In such cases the blessing imparted by the saint would set apart the spring as holy. An ancient life of St Columba, preserved in the collection of Gaelic remains known as *Leabhar Breac*, says of him :

He blessed three hundred miraculous crosses,
He blessed three hundred wells which were constant.¹

An example is not wanting of the sanctification by a saint's blessing of a spring once the object of pagan superstition. St Adamnan tells how St Columba discovered, in the country of the Picts, a certain well upon which sorcerers had cast magic spells. Any persons rash enough to drink of its water or wash therein were afflicted with disease or weakness. The saint blessed the well, and then both he and his companions drank of its water, and took some to wash their hands and feet. The spring in future, far from working ill to any one, became instrumental in curing the sick.² This well is thought to be identical with that still venerated at Invermoriston, Inverness-shire.

Some other cause must be sought for in considering the origin of holy wells bearing the name of Our Lady, St Michael, or saints who could not have blessed them in person. The explanation given by a competent authority for the existence of such

¹ O'Hanlon, *Lives of Irish Saints*, vol. i, p. clxvii (note).

² Adamnan, *Life of St Columba*, lib. ii, c. 10.

springs in Ireland may well be quoted here, as affording light on the subject. Canon O'Hanlon thus speaks in his *Lives of Irish Saints*: 'In many cases, when the saints were foreign, or probably when the holy persons themselves did not officiate, several of those wells and crosses were regarded as memorials, or commemorative of their places when living, or as marking their resting-places when dead. At all events, for some sufficient reason, such objects were placed under their special patronage, and were dedicated to particular saints. In after times, those wells and crosses were resorted to during the year as spots especially suitable for devotions and penitential exercises. . . . There can hardly be a doubt, from the number of votive offerings affixed to the branches of trees immediately near the wells, that many miraculous cures, both of soul and body, were popularly held to have been effected as a result of such pilgrimages.'¹

As to the origin of some of these holy wells, the Bollandists propound a theory suggested by a custom observed in some parts of France. On the anniversary of the feast of the patron of the parish church, the priest would impart to the springs near the church a special blessing, similar to the customary grace before meals. He prayed that those who had assembled there to celebrate the festival might make use of that water without harm to soul or body. This provided for the crowds of devout worshippers a means of refreshment after travel.² It is quite possible that in some such way may have originated the sacred character borne by so many springs,

¹ Vol. i, p. 167.

² *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. lix, p. 1038.

situated near parish churches, dedicated to the B. Trinity, the Holy Cross, Our Lady, St Michael, the apostles, or saints of another country. The well once hallowed would henceforth be looked upon as sacred, especially if the blessing were repeated for many succeeding anniversaries.

In one or other of these ways must have originated the greater number of the holy wells of Scotland; mention will be made later of some whose reputation for sanctity has arisen otherwise. Regarding the majority of these sacred fountains, nothing can be said except that they exist, and that the water they produce is invariably of singular purity, and often of unusual abundance. In too many cases the name of the patron can no longer be identified; in some instances it appears in so corrupt a form as to be altogether unrecognisable; in others it has been entirely forgotten.

Though an attempt has been made to draw up a list of the wells still known in Scotland, the enumeration cannot claim to be exhaustive even as regards those which still possess a local tradition. It would be necessary to search through every village and hamlet in the kingdom, however remote, and to make diligent enquiry on all sides as to memories and folklore, before one could hope to ascertain the site of every fountain which was honoured by our ancestors. The following list of the various patrons whose wells can yet be traced is arranged in the order of counties; the wells given number more than three hundred and seventy, but some of them no longer continue to flow. It will be remarked that every county is represented except two—Nairn and Caithness. In drawing up this list, much use

has been made of one compiled by Mr J. Russel Walker, F.S.A., from the large Ordnance Map of Scotland, and published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.¹ The present writer has, however, added to it from other sources, and in many instances from personal investigation. The saints who cannot be identified with any whose names are known are marked with a note of interrogation. In this list are included wells which bear such titles as Trinity Well, Christ's Well, Cross Well, and the like.

SCOTTISH HOLY WELLS

ABERDEENSHIRE

St Adamnan: Aboyne, Rathen. St Bride: Kildrummy: Peterculter. St Caral, Ruthven. St Columba, Birse. St Devenick, Methlick. St Donnan, Auchterless. St Drostan: New Aberdour, Old Deer. St Englatius, Tarves. St Finan, Gartley. St Hilary, Drumlait. St John: New Aberdour, Fyvie (two wells), Kinnethmont, Logie Coldstone, Slap. St Katherine, Fyvie. St Lawrence: Kinnord, Rayne. St Machar: Old Aberdeen, Corgarf. St Maelrubha, Aboyne. St Mayota, Drumoak. St Michael, Culsamond. St Mungo: Glengairn, Huntly. St Muriel, Rathmuriel. St Nathalan, Old Meldrum. The Nine Maidens: Old Aberdeen, Pitsligo. St Olaf, Kirk of Cruden. Our Lady: Aboyne, Culsamond, Daviot, Drumoak, Chapel of Garioch, Fyvie, Kintore, Meldrum, Strichen, Turriff. St Paul, Fyvie. St Peter: Drumoak, Foveran, Fyvie, Peterculter. St Ronan: Chapelton (Strathdon), Lewis. St Ternan, Kirkton of Slains.

ARGYLLSHIRE

St Andrew, Saddell. St Columba: Ardslygnish, Colonsay, Garveloch Isles, Iona. St Conan, Dalmally. St Katharine, Southend. St Modan, Ardchattan. St Ninian, Mull. St Oran, Colonsay. Our Lady: Tobermory, Mull.

¹ Vol. v. (new series).

AYRSHIRE

St Anthony, Maybole. St Brendan, Kilbirnie. St Bride, Beith. St Dominæ(?), Barr. St Fillan: Largs, Skelmorlie. St Helen, Maybole. St Inan, Beith. St Mungo, Ayr. Our Lady: Auchinleck, Kilmarnoch, Loudoun, Maybole. St Wynin: Dalry, Kilwinning.

BANFFSHIRE

St Adamnan, Forglen. St Anne, Glass. St Brendan, Alvah. St Colman, Alvah. St Columba, Portsoy. 'Cross Well,' Grange. St Drostan, Charleston of Aberlour. St Fergus. Kirkmichael. St Fumac, Botriphnie. St Hugh: Aberchirder, Forglen. St John: Kirkton of Deskford, Enzie, Gamrie, Gardenstone, Ordiquhill. St atharine, Alvah. St Machalus, Chapelton of Kilmaichlie. St Marnan, Aberchirder. St Martin, Cairnie. St Moluag, Mortlach. Our Lady: Aberchirder, Banff, Glass, Chapelton of Glenlivat, Grange, Inverhaven, Letterfourie, Ordiquhill, Port Knockie, Rathven. St Peter: Aberchirder, Forglen. St Ronald, Banff. t Stephen, Inverhaven. St Talarican, Fordyce. St Voloc, Glass.

BERWICKSHIRE

St Abb (Ebba), Ayton. St Anne, Ladykirk. St Bathen, Abbey St Bathans. Our Lady: Coldstream, Ladykirk, Longformacus.

BUTESHIRE

St Cathan, Kilcattan Bay. St Molios, Holy Island.

CLACKMANNANSHIRE

Our Lady: Alloa, Clackmannan, Tullibody.

CROMARTYSHIRE

St Bennet, Cromarty. St Duthac, Cromarty.

DUMBARTONSHIRE

St Bride, Luss. St Matthew, Kirkton. St Michael, Row (two wells). St Patrick, Kilpatrick. St Serf, Dumbarton.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

St Bride, Hoddam. St David, Langholm. St Helen, Kirkpatrick-Fleming. St John, Moffat. St Lawrence, Fairgirth. St Michael, Applegarth. St Mungo, Brow. Our Lady: Dumfries, Kirkconnel, Middlebie, Morton, St Mungo. St Peter, Mouswald. St Quintan, Morton. St Thomas, Lochmaben.

FIFESHIRE

St Aidan, Balmerino. St Andrew, Lindores. St Bride, Balmerino. St Ethernan, Kilrenny. St Fillan: Aberdour, Pittenweem. St Glascian, Kinglassie. St John: Balmerino. Falkland, Inverkeithing. St Leonard: Dunfermline, St Andrews. St Margaret, Dunfermline. St Monan, St Monans. Nine Maidens, Newburgh. Our Lady: Balmerino, Falkland, Isle of May, Leuchars. St Salvator (Holy Saviour), St Andrews.

FORFARSHIRE

St Aidan, Fearn. St Andrew, Longdrum. St Brail (?), Stracathro. St Bride, Templeton. St Drostan: Edzell, Invermark Castle. St Fechin (Vigean), Grange of Conon. St Fergus: Glammis, Montrose. St Francis, Dundee. St Kane (?), Ardestie. St Medan: Airlie, Kingoldrum. Nine Maidens, Drumhead, Glammis, Oathlaw. St Ninian: Arbilot, Arbroath, Mains. Our Lady: Arbroath, Drumcairn, Edzell, Glenisla, Milton of Carmylie, Oathlaw. St Ouret (?), Brechin. St Vidan (?), Kirkton of Menmuir.

HADDINGTONSHIRE

St Andrew, North Berwick. St Baldred: Aldhame, Prestonkirk. St Columba, Carlaverock. Holy Rood, Stenton. St John, Spott. Our Lady: Haddington, Whitekirk.

INVERNESS-SHIRE

St Annet (?), Skye. St Asaph, Skye. St Barr, Barra. St Clement, Skye. St Columba: Eigg, Invermoriston. St Congan, Skye. St Constantine, Lewis. St Donnan, Eigg. St Drostan, Glen Urquhart. St John, Fort Augustus. St Katharine: Eigg, Fort-Augustus. St Kilda, Island of St Kilda. St Lata, Alvie. St Merchard, Glenmoriston. St Michael, Inverlochy. St Norie (?), Stuarton. Our Lady: Culloden Moor, Eskadale.

KINCARDINESHIRE

St Aidan, Menmuir. St Columba, Menmuir. St Cyrus, St Cyrus. St Fiacre, Nigg. St James, Garvoch. St John, Balmano. St Kieran: Drumlithie, Glenbervie. St Medan, Inglismaldie. St Mungo, Kinneff. St Ninian, Menmuir. Our Lady, Banchory-Ternan. St Palladius, Fordoun. St Ronald, Stonehaven. St Ternan, Findon.

KINROSS-SHIRE

Our Lady, Cleish.

KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE

St Glascian, Dundrennan. St Kieran, Troqueer. St Margaret, Kirkcudbright. St Mungo, Carsphairn. St Ninian, Mayfield. Our Lady, Carsphairn.

LANARKSHIRE

St Aidan, Cambusnethan. St Bride, Dunsyre. St Columba, Cambusnethan. St Inan, Lamington. St John, Shettleston. St Katharine, Shotts. St Mungo, Glasgow, (two wells). St Nethan, Liberton. Our Lady: Glasgow, Lamington, Old Monkland, Motherwell. St Patrick, Dalziel. St Thenew, Glasgow.

LINLITHGOWSHIRE

St John, Torphichen. St Michael, Linlithgow. Our Lady: Bathgate, Linlithgow. St Paul, Linlithgow.

MIDLOTHIAN

St Anthony, Edinburgh. St Clement, Musselburgh. St David: Edinburgh, Newbattle. Holy Trinity, Soutra. St Katharine, Liberton. St Margaret, Restalrig. St Matthew, Roslin. St Michael, Edinburgh. St Mungo: Currie, Mid-Calder, Penicuik. Nine Maidens, Mid-Calder. St Ninian, Edinburgh. Our Lady: Liberton, Ratho, Stow. St Triduana, Restalrig.

MORAYSHIRE

St Ethan, Burghead. St Geradin, Lossiemouth. St John, Fochabers. St Laurence, New Duffus. St Leonard, Fochabers. St Michael, Dallas. Our Lady: Elgin, Speyside. St Peter: Garmouth, New Duffus.

ORKNEY

St Magnus, Birsay. St Ninian, Sandwick.

PEEBLESHIRE

St Bride, Traquair. St Mungo, Peebles. Our Lady, Traquair.

PERTSHIRE

St Adamnan, Dull. St Anne, Dowally. St Bride: Auchtergaven, Fortingall. St Cuthbert, Strathtay. St Davius, Weem. St Fillan: Strathfillan, Struan. Holy Trinity, Trinity-Gask. St Mackessog, Kirkton of Auchterarder. St Mureach, Dunkeld. St Ninian: Alyth, Dull. St Patrick, Muthill. St Peter: Logierait, Rait. St Ronan, Stroward of Monzievaird. St Serf, Monzievaird. St Thomas, Crieff.

RENFREWSHIRE

St Bride, Kilbarchan. Christ' Wells, Inverkip. St Fillan, Houston. St Peter, Houston.

ROSS-SHIRE

St Boniface, Fortrose. St Colman, Kiltearn. St Columba, Alness. St Maelrubha, Loch Maree. Our Lady: Alness, Avoch, Kincardine, Tain.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

St Boisil, St Boswells. St Cuthbert, St Boswells. St Dunstan, Melrose. St Helen, Darnick. St Lawrence, Morebattle. St Ninian, Ashkirk. Our Lady: Bedrule, Hobkirk, Jedburgh, Linton, Melrose. St William, Melrose.

SELKIRKSHIRE

St Andrew, Selkirk. St Philip, Yarrow.

STIRLINGSHIRE

St John, Stirling. St Lawrence, Slamannan (two wells.) St Machan, Campsie. St Mirin, Kilsyth. St Ninian, Stirling. Our Lady: Airth, Kippen. St Serf, Alva. St Talarican, Kilsyth. St Thomas, Stirling. St Valdrin (?), Drymen.

SUTHERLANDSHIRE

St John, Dunrobin. St John Baptist, Helmsdale.

WIGTONSHIRE

St Bride: Kirkholm, Kirkmaiden. St Columba, Kirkholm. St Fillan, Kilfillan. St John, Stranraer. St Katharine; Kirkmaiden, Old Luce, Stoneykirk. St Medana: Glasserton, Kirkmaiden. St Ninian: Penninghame, Wigton. Our Lady: Kirkcolm, Kirkmaiden, New Luce (two wells), Newton Stewart. St Patrick, Port Patrick. St Peter, Kirkmaiden.

The foregoing list will enable the reader to see at a glance the districts in which such wells are most numerous. It will be noticed that these are the north-eastern and eastern counties, for the most part; the Highland districts having fewer wells than the Lowland. Inverness-shire, for example, which is wholly Highland, can show but twenty;

yet it is the largest county in Scotland. Aberdeen, which is partly Lowland, has fifty; Banffshire, its neighbour, nearly forty. The fewness of the sacred springs to be found in the western and north-western shires may be accounted for by the sparsely populated tracts of country which exist there, even in these days.

The holy wells which call for special mention must now be touched upon. The most numerous, as we might expect, are those dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, which far outnumber those named after any of the saints. About eighty Mary Wells once existed in Scotland, and possibly many more; for in a great many instances the patrons of sacred springs have been lost sight of.

Some of the Blessed Virgin's wells were at renowned places of pilgrimage. Such was that at Whitekirk in Haddingtonshire. It stood near a church which was known as St Mary's, Whitekirk, and contained an image of the Blessed Virgin which attracted many pilgrims thither. The learned Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II, walked ten miles barefoot, over frozen roads, to return thanks in this church for preservation from shipwreck during a tempestuous voyage. Less than a century ago, the waters of this spring were most abundant, but it has long since been drained dry through the cultivation of the adjoining land.

Another Lady Well which was famous in Catholic ages, was that which flowed near the Chapel of Grace, on Speyside, about five miles from the town of Fochabers. The chapel was served by a priest from the hospital of St Nicholas, already referred to in the chapter on hospitals. About the year 1638

all that remained of the chapel was thrown down in order to put a stop to pilgrimages thither, but to no purpose. A writer of the eighteenth century witnesses to the multitudes that flocked to the place in his day from the Western Isles; 'Nothing short of violence,' he says, 'can restrain their superstition.'

An account of the devotion shown by a noble Catholic lady towards this spot has been preserved in the narrative left by the chaplain of the Countess of Aboyne, Father Gilbert Blakhal, written in the seventeenth century, after the demolition of the chapel referred to above. His narration runs as follows:—

'Shortly heirafter, in the octave of the Assumption of Our Lady, she (the Countess) did go to the Bogge of Gight¹ to see her mother-in-law, my Ladye Marqueis of Huntly, and go thence apillgrimage, two milles, to Our Lady of Grace in Murray Land. It had bein of old a very devote place, and many pillgrimages had bein made to it from al the partes in the Northe of Scotland; but then there was nothing standing of it but some brocken walles, which the minister made throw downe within the chappell, to hinder the people to pray there She used to make that pillgrimage every year so long as she hed health to do it, a mater of threttie (30) milles from her owne house, wherof she made two of them afoot, and barefooted, next to the chappel.'²

Up to forty years ago, crowds of both Catholics and Protestants would visit the Well of Grace on the first Sunday of May and on that within the octave

¹ Bog of Gight, the old name popularly given to Gordon Castle.

² Blakhal, *Brieffe Narration*, (Spalding Club), p. 71.

of the Assumption. It was considered an important part of the pilgrimage to carry home a bottle of water to keep in the house during the year. Few visit the well now except Catholics. The site of the ancient chapel is occupied by a private mausoleum of Gothic design, built in 844. In a sloping meadow, shaded by fine trees, at the back of the little building, is the once famous spring. Its water clear as crystal, is in a roughly built stone basin in a grassy bank. A hewn arch of comparatively modern date has been let into the wall behind it, and marks the spot where pilgrims once drank, as the basin below recalls the miraculous bathing fountain for laving afflicted limbs.

Another well, greatly frequented by pilgrims, was at Ordiquhill, in the neighbouring county of Banff. This one also was proscribed by the Kirk. A decree of the Assembly was issued in 1608—‘That ordour be taken with the pilgrimages—*viz.*, the Chappell callit Ordiquhell and the Chapell of Grace.’¹

In Rathven parish, in the same county, a Lady Well was filled up by the tenant of the farm on which it flowed, in order to prevent the concourse of people to the spot. Some women who wished to apply the water to their sickly infants cleared away the rubbish, and the water once more gushed out. The well was again filled up however; and so effectually that the present occupant of the land was unable to point out to the writer the exact spot where it was formerly to be found.

Most of the Blessed Virgin’s Scottish wells, though not of widespread renown, used to be visited long after the Reformation by persons seeking the cure of bodily ailments. Thus the little spring in the woods

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 1055 (26th July, 1608).

near Letterfourie House, Banffshire—‘Cragie Well’—was frequented less than half a century ago. Pieces of linen were often attached to the boughs of the neighbouring trees, and coins and pins have been found lying in the water of the well. Moss of a bright colour which lined the basin used to be taken away, and water into which it had been dipped was drunk by sick people.

It may be well to explain here that nearly all the sacred springs which have survived the Reformation are indicated by the signs alluded to above. The votive offerings of Catholic days, ‘consisting of the bandage which covered the afflicted limb, or the money given to the chapel hard by, degenerated into a piece of rag left upon a neighbouring bush, or a halfpenny, or even a pin, dropped into the water. The meaning of the offering had been lost, but the tradition that something must be left behind clung still. The custom, prompted by superstition in most cases, has often helped to perpetuate the memory of a once famous spot.

The Lady Well at Tain is worthy of note from its peculiar situation. It shall be described in the words of a Protestant writer of the last century, interesting because of the spirit of antiquated bigotry which they breathe: ‘Perhaps the most remarkable spring in the parish is one called St Mary’s Well, which is every day covered for several hours by the salt sea; on the retiring of which, its refreshing waters may be procured. It was of old reckoned a specific remedy for consumption; though we believe it was essential to its efficacy that it should be drunk early in the morning and upon the spot; and as its very name sufficiently indicates a Roman Catholic age, we may

probably enough trace in that belief the *fraus pia* of a priesthood anxious to secure to ecclesiastical benediction the honour due to early rising, pure air, and exercise.¹

At least one Mary Well has been utilised as a public drinking fountain. This is in Ladywell Street, Glasgow.

St John, next to the Blessed Virgin, is the foremost patron of Scottish springs; for those under his dedication number at least twenty. It might appear at first sight that the Baptist was indicated. Possibly some may have been his, but one only can now be certainly identified—that at Helmsdale. There is a striking significance, and one not generally known, in the popularity of the Evangelist among Celts. A writer deeply learned in their folklore thus refers to it: ‘John the Beloved is called *Dalta Moire*—foster-son of Mary; and *Comhdhalta Chriosda*—foster-brother (literally co-foster) of Christ. Fostership among the Highlanders was a peculiarly close and tender tie,—more close and more tender even than blood.’² This may help to account for the many wells which are named after him in Scotland.

At Kirkton of Deskford, Banffshire, St John’s Well, though mentioned by certain authorities as if it were still flowing, has been dry for at least thirty years. An elderly dame, who kindly pointed out its site to the present writer, remembered the time when its waters were abundant. ‘When I was a lassie,’ she remarked, ‘we liked to wash our faces in the water; folks believed that it would make your skin as fine and white as a lady’s.’ The same

¹ *New Stat. Account*, Rosshire, 283.

² Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. i, p. 166.

guide was able to indicate the spot where St John's Tree grew near the well. It had never been more than a dead stump since she could remember. 'We used to carry sprigs of it in our breasts,' she said. Here was an instance of the survival among Protestants of ancient Catholic reverence.

St Ninian had no less than fifteen wells in Scotland. That at Dull, Perthshire, had once a great reputation for the cures wrought by its waters. It was frequented formerly by invalids from far and near.¹ The well of the same saint at Stirling is covered by a stone vaulting. A house has been built over it in more modern days.

St Mungo or Kentigern, is another favourite patron. In Glasgow, his episcopal city, are two holy wells dedicated to him. One is in the undercroft of the cathedral, not far from the ornate vaulting known as the 'catafalque,' which indicates his once famous tomb; the other well was at his church near Gallowgate. This saint's spring in the parish of St Mungo, Dumfriesshire, is near his ancient church. It is noteworthy as preserving through the year an almost even temperature of 48 degrees. His well at Currie supplies the whole village with excellent water. That in Glencairn was frequented annually on his feast-day until quite recent times.

It is not surprising to find numerous dedications to St Peter. His well at Houston is rudely arched over with stone. The reason for the choice of patron in this instance is evident; the ancient name by which the Barony of Houston was known was Kilpeter, and it was not until it passed in the twelfth century into the possession of Hugh of Padvinan

¹ *New Statis. Account.* Perthshire, p. 775.

that it began to be called 'Hugh's Town.' The original designation arose from the dedication of the church to the apostle. St Peter's Well at Mouswald is a remarkable one. It is a continuous fountain for the space of one hundred feet, issuing near the old church, which is thought to have been dedicated to St Peter. The water never freezes, and it prevents from freezing the burn into which it flows. The apostle's well at Kirkmaiden is a dropping well. In the same parish are no less than five sacred springs, and the same number of ruined chapels—probably connected with the holy wells in past ages.

The Irish St Bride is another popular patron of Scottish springs. As many as fourteen are named after her. Apart from the tradition which credits the saint with a temporary residence in the country, St Bridget was so greatly beloved by both Irish and Scottish Celts that the fact is sufficient to account for this form of devotion. In the popular religious songs of the Western Isles, as will be seen, Bride is constantly invoked, together with Mary, Michael, Patrick and Columba, as helper and protector of the faithful.

St Columba, the renowned abbot of Iona, and apostle of the northern regions of Scotland, has many holy wells. Two of them have been already noticed. That at Invermoriston is still visited with devotion by Catholics, and instances are not wanting in which its health-giving power has been exercised in recent times. Another—St Colme's Well, as it is now called—contributes to the water-supply of the town of Banff, near which it is situated.

St Patrick's name is perpetuated at Muthill by the still visible foundations of his ancient chapel, as well

as by the sacred spring which flows hard by. As recently as 1837 a Protestant writer thus speaks of the lingering traces of devotion to the saint in that neighbourhood: 'Inhabitants, until very lately, held his memory in so high veneration that on his day neither the clap of the mill was heard nor the plough seen to move in the furrow.' St Patrick's Well at Kilpatrick, a place believed by good authorities to have been the birthplace of Ireland's apostle, is now filled up.

Two of the wells of St Michael are worthy of special mention. That in the city of Edinburgh appears to have been contained in a building of some kind. From the burgh record we learn that in 1556 David Synmer was constituted by the magistrates overseer of 'the well called St Michael's': and on December 15 of the same year the treasurer was ordered to repair the well, and 'to ordain Master John Pristoun to be overseer.' Another entry is a note of expenses 'maid . . . on St Michaellis Well.' Unfortunately, its site has been so entirely lost that it is no longer possible to say in what part of the city it was situated. The Cowgate was known in 1480 as 'Wellgate,' and it may possibly have been in that quarter.

The other noteworthy well of the archangel was at Linlithgow, a town commemorated in a popular rhyme as famous for its springs:

Glasgow for bells,
Lithgow for wells.

St Michael is patron of the whole burgh, as well as

¹ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. v, New Series, p. 195.

of the beautiful parish church, 'assuredly the most important specimen of an ancient parochial church now existing in Scotland, both as to dimensions and real architectural interest,' says Hill Burton.¹ It may have been for reasons of prudence rather than of reverence that the Lords of the Congregation, when they destroyed in 1559 all the altars and images in that parish church, spared the statute of St Michael, which is still in existence. His holy well is sheltered in a small stone building, bearing the date 1720, and is surmounted by an ancient figure of the Archangel brought thither from another part of the town. An inscription upon it records that 'St Michael is Kinde to Strangers.' Other springs at Linlithgow, now known as the Lion Well, the Dog Well, etc., may possibly have once borne more sacred titles.

It is rather surprising to find so many wells dedicated to the Roman deacon St Lawrence; and it would be more so to discover two of them in the same parish, did we not know that Slamannan, Stirlingshire, the place in question, was formerly styled St Lawrence. Morebattle well, near the church dedicated to the saint, supplies the village with water. St Lawrence's Well at Rayne, close to his church there, may have acquired its sacred character from being blessed annually on the saint's feast; for the fair held on that day was so largely frequented that the highway leading to the place obtained the title of St Lawrence's Road.

St Margaret's Well at Restalrig, named after the sainted queen who is honoured as one of the heavenly

¹ Billings, *Ecclesiastical and Baronial Antiquities of Scotland*.

patrons of the kingdom of Scotland, was once sheltered under a Gothic building as graceful as any of the kind in the country. It had a handsome groined roof of stone, resting upon a central pillar, and steps led down to the level of the water.¹ There are reasons for supposing that the building was erected by David I, and that the spring once bore the name of the Rood Well.² Utilitarianism has abolished that once venerated fountain. The storehouses of the North British Railway have been built directly over it; and, though a praiseworthy instinct led to the removal of the building to Queen's Park, the spring has disappeared.

The recent discovery of St Triduana's Well at Restalrig has been noticed already in the account given of the collegiate church in that place.

Among the wells named after St Katharine, that in the parish of Liberton, close to Edinburgh, was the most renowned. From a bituminous oil which still bubbles up intermittently in the water, it acquired the designation of the Balm Well. Tradition refers its origin to a drop of miraculous oil, brought by order of St Margaret from St Katharine's tomb on Mount Sinai. The holy Queen caused a chapel to be erected, probably over the well. It was here that James IV, as the Treasurer's Accounts relate, made an offering in July, 1504: 'In Sanct Katrine's of the oly well.' James VI visited it in 1617, and caused it to be enclosed in a small stone building, with steps leading down to the water. From this it is clear that no chapel then stood over it. Cromwell demolished James' building,

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland*, vol. v, New Series, p. 157.

but that which now shelters the well was constructed from the old materials.

The nuns of the convent of St Catherine of Siena—a building which has given the name of Sciennes (locally pronounced Sheens) to the streets and lanes in the vicinity—are said to have made an annual pilgrimage to the Balm Well. The nuns in question enjoyed the distinction of being the only body of religious praised for their virtuous lives by the satirical poet of the Reformation, Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount. In their convent he makes Chastity discover

hir mother Povertie;
And Devotion her awin sister carnall;
Thare hath scho fund Faith, Hope and Cheritie,
Togidder with the vertues cardinal.¹

Though St Andrew's Well at Lindores has disappeared, having been filled up since the time of the Reformation, that at Selkirk, after remaining hidden for three centuries, was opened again in 1882. Of the flight of steps which once led to the water, three were still intact.

St Matthew's Well, at Roslin, is named from the famous Gothic chapel of ornate style near which it flows. It is less easy to account for the solitary dedication to St Philip. The ancient church of Yarrow, near which the spring is found, was named after St Mary. It is not far from her loch, and used to be popularly known as 'St Mary of the Lowes' (*de Lacubus*). It is possible that one of the many ruined chapels in the neighbourhood, once dependent upon that church, was dedicated to St Philip.

¹ Lyndsay's Poems (*Complaynt of the Papingo*), vol. i, p. 95.

WELLS OF LESS KNOWN SAINTS

To readers who are not altogether familiar with Scottish saint-lore, some of the names of well patrons mentioned in our list may appear strange. We will therefore give a brief account of such saints as have not been already touched upon when treating of ancient fair-days.

ST ADAMNAN

An Irish saint who became Abbot of Iona, and wrote the celebrated life of St Columba. He died in 704. His numerous dedications in Scotland witness to his great popularity. His feast, restored by Leo XIII, is kept on September 23rd.

ST AIDAN

The first Bishop of Lindisfarne, and the helper of St Oswald, king and martyr, in the conversion of Northumbria. He founded the monastery of Old Melrose. Many Scottish churches were dedicated to him. He died in 651, and is honoured on August 31st.

ST ASAPH

The Welsh bishop who gave the name to the diocese of St Asaph and its town. He was associated with St Kentigern (or Mungo) when the latter was exiled in Wales, and that fact may account for the dedications to him in Scotland. He died in (or about) 590.

ST BALDRED

A hermit saint, who dwelt for a long period on the Bass Rock, where the ruins of his chapel, St Baldred's, are still discernible. He died in 608.

ST COLMAN

A monk of Iona who became Bishop of Lindisfarne, but resigned his see because of the controversy which was then raging violently concerning the correct computation of Easter. He retired to Ireland, and died there in 676. Leo XIII restored his feast to the Scottish calendar; it falls on February 18th.

ST CONSTANTINE

A British King who reigned in Cornwall, and became a monk to expiate his many crimes. He was persuaded by St Kentigern to preach the Faith in Cumbria, where he met his death at the hands of unbelieving enemies in 590. His well is known in the Isle of Lewis as 'St Cowstan's'; it is said that its water will never boil any kind of meat, though it be kept over the fire for the whole day. See St Causnan (Fairs).

ST DUTHAC

A Scottish bishop who laboured in Ross-shire in the 11th century. He was buried at Tain, and his tomb became the bourne of frequent pilgrimages in the middle ages. St Duthac's feast was restored by Leo XIII in 1898.

ST FIACRE

An Irish saint, much venerated in Scotland, which he may have visited as a missionary, since many churches are named after him. His well at Nigg was popularly known as St Fittack's, and the ruins of an ancient church there bear the same name. He died at Breuil near Meaux in France, where his shrine attracted many pilgrims. The vehicles used to convey them to the place became known as *fiacres*, the ordinary designation of a certain class of conveyances still.

ST FILLAN

An abbot of the 8th century (see Fairs). His well, or rocky pool in Strathfillan was believed to cure insanity. Scott thus alludes to it :

St Fillan's blessed well,
Whose springs can frenzied dreams dispel
And the crazed brain restore.¹

The Pilgrims' Well, at Aberdour, is thought by some to have been dedicated to St Fillan, who was patron of the church there. It was here that James, first Earl of Morton, founded the hospital of St Martha for the benefit of pilgrims. The well was renowned as late as the 18th century for curing diseases of the eye.

ST FUMAC

A saint honoured more especially in Banffshire. 'Botriphnie, or Fumac Kirk, hath for its patron St Fumac, quhose wooden image is washed yearly, with much formality, by an old woman [quho keeps it] at his fair in his own well there.' This is the account given by an 18th century MS.² The fair was held, of course, on the patronal feast of the church, May 3 (see Fairs). This image was swept away, in time of flood, to Banff, in 1847, and was there burned by the minister as a relic of superstition.

ST GERARDIN

A saint of Irish origin who lived in the 10th century as a hermit in a cave near Lossiemouth in Moray. The cliff near the railway station containing the cave and well, and known as Holyman's Head, was demolished in 1870. The tradition that the saint used to wave a lantern on stormy nights to warn vessels off the rocks is commemorated in the burgh seal of Lossiemouth,

¹ Scott, *Marmion*, Canto i, xxix.

² *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff* (Spalding Club), p. 253.

which bears the figure of the hermit with his lamp and the motto *Per noctem lux*.

ST KEIRAN

An Irish saint who laboured in Cornwall, and afterwards in the western parts of Scotland. His well at Troqueer, commonly called 'Jargon's,' was found to contain, when cleaned out in 1892, medals of Our Lady, as well as coins of recent date, such as pennies, halfpennies and farthings. They were evidently pilgrims' offerings. On a similar occasion, twenty years before, were found coins dating from Elizabeth to George III, many Scottish pieces of James VI, and others of foreign origin. The fact is one proof of the impotence of Presbyterian legislation in such cases; for the authorities at Dumfries had long before forbidden, under strict penalties, visits to the 'idolatrous well at Cairgan [Troqueer], called St Jargon's.'¹

ST MACHAR

A disciple of St Columba, sent by him to evangelise the pagan Picts in the north-east of Scotland. He founded the church of Aberdeen, where St Machar's cathedral still recalls his memory. He flourished in the 6th century. His feast, on November 12, was restored by Leo XIII.

ST MODAN

An Irish saint who preached the Faith in the western districts of Scotland. His holy well was a favourite place of pilgrimage. Devotion to this saint was widespread in the country; Scott alludes to the fact in the following verse:

Some to St Modan made their vows,
Some to St Mary of the Lowes.²

¹ *Proceedings Soc. Antiquar. Scot.*, vol. ii (3rd series), pp. 63-5.

² *Last Minstrel*, Cant. vi.

THE NINE MAIDENS

The daughters of St Donald, a Forfarshire hermit of the eighth century. Like their father, they embraced the religious life, retiring together into a solitary place. After St Donald's death they entered the monastery of Abernethy, founded by one of St Bride's disciples, or, as some think, by that saint herself.

ST THENEW

The mother of St Kentigern or Mungo, Glasgow's patron. Her well at Glasgow no longer flows, but was at one time much visited. She is often styled Thenog and was the patron of the church which has given the corrupt form of this saint's name to St Enoch's Square.

The well of ST YRCHARD or MERCHARD in Glenmoriston, is connected with an interesting local tradition. The saint was on his way with two companions to evangelise the country round Strathglass, when he discovered by revelation three new bells buried in the earth. At the same time it was made known to him that each missionary was to take one, and the three were then to depart in different directions, and found a church in the spot where the bell that each one carried should ring of its own accord for the third time. St Merchard departed into Genmoriston; and at *Suidh Mhercheird* (Merchard's Seat), at his first view of the glen, the bell rang for the first time. It rang again at the spot now known as *Fuaran Mhercheird* (Merchard's Well), where the sacred spring issues from a crevice in the rock by the side of a burn. Its water is highly prized by all—Protestants as well as Catholics. The site of the ancient church built by the saint is not far off. The identical bell of St Merchard was preserved in the old churchyard up to thirty years ago, when, to the great indignation of the glen-folk, it was wantonly hidden away by Protestant strangers, and has never since been found. (See Fairs.)

PRESBYTERIAN HATRED OF HOLY WELLS

After the Reformation the Kirk did all that lay in its power to hinder the pilgrimages to holy wells, kept up, as they were, even by Presbyterians; but threats of synods did little where stringent civil laws had failed. The seventh Parliament of James VI, held in 1581, had decreed that pilgrims visiting 'Chapelles, Welles, Croces, and sik uther monuments of idolatrie,' should suffer for the first offence a fine of one hundred pounds, forty pounds, or one hundred marks, according to the rank of the accused; for a second breach of the law, delinquents were to undergo 'the pane of death as idolators.'¹ There is no record, however, that the special commissioners appointed by the Act 'to searche and seeke' for such offenders ever inflicted the utmost penalty of this iniquitous law. Later on Presbyteries became very active in punishing all who could be proved to have visited holy wells, making such delinquents do penance 'in their owne parishe church in saccloth.'²

Such visits continued to be paid for more than a century after the Reformation, but in many cases they were prompted by no stronger motive than a superstitious regard for a practice long in use. Two extracts from the Kirk Session Register of Perth will help to show the gradual disappearance of any religious spirit in connection with them. On May 14, 1618, we read: 'Conform to citation compeared Isabell Garvy, servitrix to Margaret Alsouder, widow, and Margaret Lamb, daughter-in-law to George Thomson; who, being asked if they were at the Well of Huntingtower the last Sabbath, and if they drank thereof, and what they left at it, answered that they drank thereof, and that each of them left a prin [pin] thereat, which was found a point of idolatry, in putting the well in God's room.'³

¹ Acts of Parliament, James VI, Oct. 24, 1581.

² Cramond, *Church and Churchyard of Rathven*, pp. 21, 22.

³ *Spottiswood's Miscellany*, vol. ii, p. 289.

A few years later, a similar visit was associated with suspected witchcraft: 'Compeared Janet Jackson, and is accused for consulting with witches, and following their advice for health to her bairn, in that she employed unquhil [sometimes] Isabel Haldane to go silent [secretly] to the Well of Ruthven, and silent back again with water to wash her bairn.'¹

Visits to St Fiacre's (or Fittack's) Well, at Nigg, so thoroughly roused the indignation of the Kirk Session of Aberdeen in 1630, that a decree of unusual severity was passed. A lady named Margaret Adam had been convicted of sending her infant, in charge of its nurse, to be bathed in the water in order to obtain the child's restoration to health, and was fined five pounds. 'The said day,' continue the records, 'it was ordanit be the haille session in ane voce that quhatsumeuer inhabitar within this burgh beis fund going to Sanct Fiackres Well in ane superstitious maner for seiking health to thame selffis or bairness, shall be censured in penaltie and repentance in such degree as fornicatouris ar efter tryall and conviction.'² The dread of figuring in kirk as public sinners of the grossest type must have proved eminently successful in restraining Catholics from such pilgrimages for the future. Such legislation merits the stigma of 'devilish bigotry' with which a prominent Catholic writer has branded it.

In more modern times Protestant pilgrimages have degenerated into mere pleasure excursions, which afford youths and maidens an opportunity for a Sunday relaxation. Such visitors to the 'Wishing Well,' as it began to be termed, amid the laughter and joking of the party, would drink the water, formulate their particular wish, and drop into the spring their pins or halfpennies, ignorant of the religious origin of their unmeaning action. These visits are still kept up in connection with

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Antiq. Aberdeen and Banff*, p 253 (note.)

the Lady Well at Culloden, near Inverness. Comparatively recent years, however, have witnessed the cessation of many of such parodies of pilgrimage; and the wells themselves are beginning to lose, in too many cases, all trace of their distinctive character. Some few are still venerated by Catholics, and there are handed down numerous records of manifest graces bestowed upon those who have visited in faith waters once universally regarded as fraught with healing.

HONOURS PAID TO THE BLESSED
VIRGIN MARY

THE study of the practices of piety which flourished in past ages can never be without profit. To those outside the Catholic Church it affords incontestable evidence of the identity of the religion cherished by their forefathers with the Catholicism of the twentieth century. To the Catholic, also, the example of bygone days is equally useful ; it cannot but kindle in his heart a more fervent zeal for observances deservedly beloved by his ancestors in the faith. Such is particularly the case with regard to the measure and kind of devotion paid to the Mother of Our Lord when Scotland was wholly Catholic.

Just about ten years before the storm of the Reformation burst upon the land, and while ominous clouds were already looming black upon the outlook of those who had eyes to see, the authorities of the Church in Scotland began too late to realise a fact which, more than anything else, was tending towards the success of the new doctrines among the unlettered classes ; this was the culpable neglect by the bulk of the parochial clergy of the regular and systematic instruction of the people in their religion. In addition to the promulgation of laws for the supplying of this need, care was taken to compile a brief summary of Catholic doctrine which might serve as a handbook

to fit the clergy for the task newly expected of them. The book became known as *Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism*, not because it had been that prelate's personal work, but rather because he had been more active than any of the other bishops in bringing about its publication. Some extracts from it touching very beautifully upon devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and expressing as they do the popular feeling at that period, may serve as an introduction to the investigation of earlier ages. The spelling is modernised.

The preface to the instruction upon the *Ave Maria* runs thus :—

‘We think it expedient for your instruction and spiritual edification to set forth to you a plain declaration of that heavenly salutation which the holy angel Gabriel (sent from the Blessed Trinity) proposed reverently to the glorious lady, the Virgin Mary, when he came to show to her the blessed incarnation of the Son of God.

‘Our Mother, the Holy Kirk, has had a use since the Apostles hitherto to propose to all young scholars and learners of Christ's religion certain principles and general documents for their necessary instruction in the doctrines of our Saviour Christ, among which the same heavenly salutation was given to be learned and to be said with the *Pater Noster*.

‘The same salutation should be counted one of the special prayers that a Christian man and woman ought to say, for suppose there is not in it any special petition expressed, yet when it is said distinctly, reverently and devoutly, it stirs up our minds in the

faith of the blessed incarnation of Christ; it moves us to contemplation and remembrance of the great benefits of God, and especially that He has given Himself to us; it warns us to love God and thank Him for the same blessed incarnation; it makes us understand the excellent dignity of the Virgin Mary, who was chosen to be Mother of God; it causes us to honour God in her and also her in God; it moves the glorious Virgin to make intercession to her Son for us, and, finally, God Almighty, seeing our meekness, our faith, our contemplation, our love and thanksgiving, our intercession to His Mother, will have mercy upon us.

“From this time all generations shall call me blessed.” How can this prophecy of the ordination of God be fulfilled better than when we say to her devoutly, *Ave Maria*? And suppose Turks, Jews, heretics and false Christian men and women will not love the Virgin Mary, and so fulfil this prophecy, yet all true, faithful and devout Christian men and women will love and honour her, saying with the angel, “*Invenisti gratiam apud Deum*”—“O glorious Lady, thou hast found grace and honour with God.”

‘So, O Christian man, I exhort thee, learn to understand truly the same salutation and to say it devoutly to the glorious Virgin, beseeching Almighty God that where he has given so great abundance and fulness of grace to her, that He would by her intercession give to thee a drop of grace, whereby thou may be saved and come finally to the kingdom of heaven.’¹

¹ *Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism*, original edition. Abbey Library, Fort Augustus.

The deep devotion, so simply yet so eloquently expressed in these extracts, is no less apparent in the national life of the preceding centuries, if we but take the trouble to search out details. It is chiefly shown in the following ways :—

1. The dedication of churches, chapels and altars in the name of Mary.

2. The traditional place-names of the country.

3. Special bequests in Mary's honour.

4. Pilgrimages to her shrines and wells.

5. The veneration paid to her images.

6. The cherished hymns of the people.

Some examples of each class will now be adduced. They will serve to supplement the traces already enumerated of the once unrivalled sway in Scotland of the Church in union with Rome.

DEDICATION OF CHURCHES

The naming of churches after the Blessed Virgin may not appear at first sight to be a very strong proof of special devotion to her ; yet, on reflection, we cannot help acknowledging it as such. For how can the founder of any particular church express more publicly his special predilection for this or that saint than in the choice of the patron whose name the building is to perpetuate ? We have only to place ourselves in such a position to realise to the full the significance of the action. When there is question of a church built by some religious order the devotion is still apparent, although it is displayed by a corporate body rather than by an individual. With this premise we may turn to the consideration of examples.

Benedictines have always shown such variety in their dedications that the choice of Mary as titular of any of their churches argues a particular love for her. Many abbeys owned by Black Monks in Scotland were thus distinguished. One of these was Kelso, the first foundation in the country of Benedictines belonging to the fervent reform instituted in the Abbey of Tiron in Picardy. Kilwinning in Ayrshire, Lindores in Fifeshire, Lesmahago in Lanarkshire, Fyvie in Aberdeenshire—monasteries of the same body—were all styled St Mary's. So also was the picturesque abbey, afterwards raised to the dignity of a cathedral, which even in its state of ruin has always been the prominent object of interest on bleak Iona.

Cluniac Benedictines almost invariably dedicated their monastic churches to her. Their Scottish foundations were no exception. Paisley, the chief of these, was renowned not only for beauty of architecture, but for picturesqueness of site also. Crossraguel in Ayrshire, its daughter, was no less worthy of its heavenly patroness.

Cistercians, or white Monks, made the Blessed Virgin their titular in almost every case. In Scotland the order possessed as many as twenty-eight houses, and all except two or three were named after Mary. Among them were some of extraordinary beauty. The delicate carvings of Melrose are world-famed; Sweetheart, or New Abbey, near Dumfries, recalling as it does the wifely devotion of Lady Devorgilla who built it to enshrine the heart of her beloved husband, has a charm beyond mere loveliness. Dundrennan, Newbattle and Kinloss were all noble churches when in their glory.

We find a like practice as regards dedication existing among other religious. Many of the churches of both White and Black Canons had the Blessed Virgin as their titular. The stately Norman pile of Jedburgh, as well as the churches of Scone, Cambuskenneth, Holywood and Dryburgh are examples. Dominicans usually followed the same pious custom. Their houses in Scotland numbered twelve. The Carmelites did the same; their foundations were seventeen in number. Other orders named some of their churches after her. Among them the Franciscans, whose fine buildings at Glasgow and Aberdeen and probably others were named St Mary's.

Among the churches served by the secular clergy the cathedrals claim first mention. Of these Aberdeen bore the title of St Mary and St Machar. Dornoch, in Sutherland, built by its Bishop, St Gilbert, in honour of Our Lady, received in later ages his own name in addition.

To enumerate all the churches and chapels which, through the length and breadth of Scotland, rejoiced in having the Mother of God as their titular would be an impossibility, not only on account of their number, but also because the titles of so many have been altogether lost sight of. It will however be of interest to trace some of them, scattered through the various ancient dioceses.

That of Aberdeen is remarkable as having possessed several. In the city itself was one dedicated to *S. Maria ad Nives*, commonly known as the 'Snow Kirk.' It has now disappeared, though its ancient cemetery, called 'Snow Cemetery,' is still in use. Besides the Grey Friars' church already

mentioned, King's College chapel was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, as also two, if not three, chapels on or near the bridges over the Don and the Dee. In the cathedral the high altar and two others were named in her honour. The parish church of St Nicholas had chapels to Our Lady of Pity, both in the upper church and in the crypt. The latter was usually styled 'Pitty Vault.'

There were several similar dedications throughout the county. Among them were the churches of Auchindoir, Kintore, Glenmuick, Ellon, Fyvie, Deer and Monymusk. Chapels existed in Stoneywood, in the parish of Newhills, Rothmaise, in the parish of Rayne, Meldrum, and other localities. The chief one in the county, however, was that known as 'The Chapel of the Garioch,' which has given its name to a parish. It was founded at a date earlier than 1357, before which time Christian of Bruce, sister of Robert I and Lady of the Garioch, made provision for a perpetual chaplain to say Mass for her brother the king, her husband and herself. In 1384 Margaret, Countess of Douglas, made other foundations in the chapel, and after the battle of Harlaw, in 1411, Alexander, Earl of Mar, provided perpetual Masses for the souls of the slain, and Isabel, widow of the Baron of Balquhain, did the same for her six sons, who had fallen in that fight, and also for her deceased husband. Queen Mary Stuart when making her progress to the north, in 1562, spent a night at Balquhain Castle and assisted next morning at Mass in the chapel of the Garioch.

In the neighbouring county of Banff, Cullen possessed a collegiate Church of St Mary served by a provost and 6 prebendaries already noticed under

collegiate churches. Banff and Cabrach also had churches dedicated to Our Lady.¹

Turning to the still more northerly diocese of Caithness, we find many traces of similar devotion to Mary. Besides the Church of Kilmure, in the parish of Kildonan, there were chapels bearing her name at Duncansbay and Lybster. Regarding the latter a Protestant writer of the eighteenth century says: 'To the west of the town of Wick, at a mile's distance on the north side of the water, stands an old chapple called Marykirk, which the commons did superstitiously frequent on the first Sabbath after the new moon.'² In the parish of Halkirk were several chapels, but their dedications are no longer known to us. It may well be that some of those existing at Farr, in Sutherland, were the Blessed Virgin's. That at Loch Naver, for example, had a healing well which used to be visited on the first Mondays of February, May, August and November. Two of those months suggest the feasts of the Purification and Assumption. The writer already quoted thus mentions a chapel in the parish of Latheron, in Caithness: 'Within a mile of the sea, upon the brink of this water (Dunbeath) is the chapel of Balclay. It's certain it was built in the time of Poperie, and I can give no further account of it.'³ Several other chapels once existed in the neighbourhood, but their dedication cannot be traced.

Before leaving this northern district the writer cannot refrain from quoting once more the same author with reference to the absence of religious

¹ *Antiq. Aberd. and Banff, passim.*

² Macfarlane's *Geographical Collection*, A.D. 1726.

³ *Ibid.*

establishments so far north. 'There are no apparent vestiges in this parish,' he says, when referring to one of them, 'of Popish monasteries, abbacies or other religious societies, and few or none in our country, being too cold a clime and barren a soyle for that fry to nestle in.'

In the diocese of Ross there were many dedications to Mary in the churches of Kilmuir Easter and Lumlair and the chapels at Delny, Tollie and Ormondhill (still called Lady Hill). A chapel at Balnagowan, in the parish of Tarbat, known as St Mary's, was served by several chaplains. This was the case at Delny also. The cathedral at Rosemarkie had a 'Blessed Virgin's Aisle.' One of the bells of the church bore the names of Mary and Boniface—the latter being the titular saint.

The diocese of Moray could claim many similar churches and chapels. Inverness had a parish church as well as a chapel and cemetery called St Mary's. There was a chapel at Duffus and another in the castle near Elgin, while at Kineragy was one in which John de Hay, in 1374, founded a chaplaincy for the benefit of his own soul and those of his progenitors and successors and of all the faithful. In the same diocese was the chapel of Our Lady of Grace, which we have already noticed under Holy Wells.

In the diocese of the Isles were numerous dedications. In the island of Mull were Kilmorie, Kilmore and Tobermory. The island of Rum had Kilmore; in Skye were Kilmuir and another Kilmuir near Dunvegan Loch. South Uist had a Church of Our Lady at Howmore. North Uist had Kilmuir; Lingay, in its neighbourhood, had Kilmoor. At

¹ *Ibid.*

Pabbay (Harris), on Island More (Holy Isles), and on St Kilda were others, with a cemetery on the latter island. On Lewis was a church which a document of 1536 speaks of as 'Our Lady in Barwas.'

Argyll diocese had churches of the Blessed Virgin at Kilmore, Kilmory in Ardnamurchan, Kilmore in Arran and (probably) Dunoon. There were chapels at Glassary and at Scarbay in Jura. Fordun, the historian, mentions the latter as noted for miracles. Rothesay parish church coupled the names of SS. Mary and Brioc in its dedication. At Strathlachlan and Lochgoilhead there is record of Lady altars in the churches.¹

Coming to the neighbourhood of Glasgow we find within the city, the collegiate church of St Mary and St Anne, the Dominican and Franciscan churches of which the Blessed Virgin was titular, and the ancient chapel of Our Lady in the present Trongate. The cathedral had a Lady altar outside the rood screen, which may still be seen, another altar in the nave and one in the undercroft of the church. Rutherglen, Renfrew, Carstairs and Skirling had churches dedicated to her. Chapels existed near Dalpatrick, near Cambuslang, near Renfrew and at Parishholm. At West Linton (Tweed-dale) was a chapel of St Mary to which Christian, daughter of Sir Adam FitzGilbert, gave her lands of Ingolstun to support three chaplains. One of these was to say daily the Mass of the Holy Ghost; a second, that of the faithful departed, and a third, the Mass of the day. No trace of the building now remains. In the parish

¹ *Vide, Origines Parochiales Scotiæ, Collections, Aberd. and Banff, Registr. Episc. Morav., Reg. Episc. Aberdon. and Reg. Episc. Brechinens., passim.*

church of Inchinnan was a Lady altar, whose chaplain was supported by the revenues of a piece of land styled 'Lady Acre.' It is a curious fact that centuries after the church had become Protestant the incumbent was forced, in order to make his title good to the aforesaid land, to style himself 'Chaplain of the Lady altar.' The case occurs nowhere else in Scotland in similar circumstances. The last charter granted by a minister under the ancient Catholic title was dated 1821. It began thus: 'To all and sundry to whose knowledge these presents shall come, I, the Rev. William Richardson, Doctor in Divinity, Minister of the Gospel and of the Kirk and parish of Inchinnan, and undoubted chaplain of the altarage and altar, commonly called Our Lady's altar, and as such, undoubted superior of the lands after mentioned, etc.'¹ The property has now passed into lay hands.

To continue this branch of the subject is unnecessary. With the enumeration of a few more notable churches dedicated to the Blessed Virgin in other parts of the country we may, therefore, take leave of it. Dundee and Haddington parish churches, the Chapel Royal at Stirling, collegiate churches at Lochwinnoch, Biggar, Lincluden, Maybole etc., and the college of St Mary in the University of St Andrews, are among the most important.

As regards altars of the Blessed Virgin, every cathedral possessed at least one—generally outside the rood-screen. There was always one, too, in every church of any note, and not seldom more than one. St John's, at Perth, had one in honour of the Annunciation and another of the Visitation. The

¹ *New Statis. Account of Scot.*, vol. vii, p. 132.

collegiate Church of St Giles, Edinburgh, had no less than five—the Lady altar, St Mary and Gabriel, Our Lady and St Roch, the Visitation and our Lady of Pity. Many other instances of such altars will occur in the enumeration of the bequests made in her honour, but we may mention here a Blessed Virgin's aisle in the Grey Friars' church at Lanark and a Lady Chapel in Lanark parish church.

PLACE NAMES

It is not necessary to repeat here the many examples of places called after Mary in such names as Kilmuir, Kilmory, to which allusion has already been made. Another form of the name is found in Marykirk, Kilmorach and Kilmarie (Forfarshire). Dalmary, or Maryfield, is in Stirlingshire, Maryholm in Kirkcudbrightshire, while 'Marisland' occurs often in old charters. In Ross-shire and in the Island of Mull are to be found St Mary's Loch, St Mary's Isle is in Kirkcudbrightshire, Mary Well in Forfarshire, Maryton in the same county, while Marynett occurs in connection with charters of fishings possessed by the abbey of Cambuskenneth. Maryhill, Marydale, Maryculter are other examples.

The places taking their names from the title 'Our Lady' are even more numerous. Dunbar has 'Our Lady's Lands'; Scone, 'Our Lady Petie Land'; Strathisla, Banffshire, 'Oure Lady Land.' At Avoch, Ross-shire, is Lady Hill, and at Elgin is another with a Mary Well close by. In Grange parish, Banffshire, are to be found another Lady Hill and Lady Well. A peat-moss belonging to the abbey of Lindores, formerly known as Lady Bog, has become changed to Ladybank. There is a Ladyfield near Dundee,

Ladybank is in Kincardineshire and Ladyloan in Forfarshire. At Lanark 'Our Lady's Akr' is still commemorated in Lady Acre Road. There was a Lady Acre at Kilwinning also. At Dailly, in Ayrshire, is Ladyglen; at Kirkcolm in Wigtonshire, Lady Cave and Lady Bay; while Ladycroft, Ladyburn, Ladykirk and Ladywell occur in many parts of Scotland. A whole parish as well as a street has been named from the Lady Well by the Molendinar Burn at Glasgow. On the land of Prestbuie Farm, in the parish of Whithorn, is a spring called Mother Water. The town of Motherwell, near Glasgow, mentioned as early as a charter of 1352, takes its name from a holy well which was formerly treasured there.¹

BEQUESTS IN HONOUR OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN

No one is likely to dispute the fact that special bequests in her honour are indubitable proofs of particular devotion to the Blessed Virgin. Many examples of the kind may be culled from the records of cathedrals, churches and religious houses.

The register of the diocese of Moray shows us that the parish church of Elgin, the cathedral city, was dedicated to St Giles, and that it had an altar of Our Lady to which the citizens made frequent donations. Thus in 1343 Adam de Berewyc gave a stone of wax yearly for the sustentation of the 'Blessed Virgin's Light.'² John de Moray, we may mention, made a similar donation, at a later period, to Our Lady's altar in the cathedral. William Pop, burgess of

¹ *Vide*, Mackinlay's *Pre-Reformation Church of Scotland and Scottish Place-names*.

² *Reg. Ep. Morav.*, p. 289.

Elgin, 'reverently desiring to honour the Son through the Mother, and the Mother through the Son, acknowledging her as the special refuge of the faithful and the never-failing helper of all men,' established a perpetual chaplaincy at the altar of 'the glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of God,' in the Church of St Giles.¹ Richard, son of John, another burgess, provided for a second chaplain at the same altar, who should celebrate Mass for his own soul and for the souls of his father and mother and all the faithful departed.

At the Lady altar in the cathedral there was at least one special chaplaincy. At Elgin, as well as in all cathedrals and many monasteries at that period, the 'Mary Mass' was sung to note every morning in addition to the Mass of the day, which was celebrated at a later hour. Another daily Mass of Our Lady, as already mentioned was celebrated in the chapel of St Thomas the Martyr in the cemetery, where five chaplains had been provided for five daily Masses. When we bear in mind that the city possessed a Lady Chapel in the castle on Lady Hill, a church of Black Friars and one of the Grey Friars—in both of which much was daily done for Mary's glory—we are bound to conclude that Elgin bore its share in honouring her.²

Turning to the records of Aberdeen Cathedral, we find that in addition to the daily sung Mass of the Blessed Virgin, at which the canons were required to assist, there was a weekly Mass of Our Lady of Compassion every Wednesday, provided for by Alexander Kyd, one of the precentors, and celebrated at the Lady altar in the nave. The feast of the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

² *Reg. Ep. Morav.*

Visitation July 2, was kept in this church with an octave. In 1420 Thomas de Lyn provided for three Masses weekly in the Black Friars' church in the city, at the altar of Our Lady; and in other ways, as we shall see later, Aberdeen was notable for honouring Mary.¹

The register of Brechin affords similar examples. At the Lady altar in the cathedral were several chaplaincies. One of them as already noted was for a weekly Mass of Requiem for the founder. A perpetual daily Mass was endowed in this cathedral by one of the canons, and on Saturdays it was to be always that of the Blessed Virgin.² David, Earl of Crawford and Lord of Lindsay, provided in 1472 for the daily singing during the chief Mass of the *Ave Gloriosa* in honour of Our Lady, 'for the salvation of his own soul, the souls of his predecessors and successors and the souls of all the faithful.'³ In the chapel of St Mary Magdalene a weekly Mass was offered in honour of the Blessed Trinity, Blessed Mary the Virgin and Blessed Magdalen. In the city stood the Hospital of St Mary, to which other chaplaincies were attached. Not far from Brechin, in the barony of Menmuir, was a hermitage bearing Mary's name, while another of her chapels existed at Kermyle.

The city of Perth was particularly remarkable for honours paid to the Blessed Virgin. Its great Church of St John Baptist, of cathedral-like proportions, had gained for the city the familiar designation of 'St John's Town.' It measured 207 feet in length.

¹ *Reg. Episc. Aberdon.*

² *Reg. Episc. Brech*, p. 168.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

Attached to this church were no less than forty chaplaincies, five of which were in honour of Our Lady. Thus Alan de Myrtoun, burgess of Perth, founded an altar of the Blessed Virgin in 1431 and endowed it with lands and tenements for the support of its priest. In 1491 Robert de Chalmer and Catherine his wife made provision for a chaplain at St Andrew's altar, 'in honour of the Virgin Mary and the Presentation of Our Saviour in the Temple.' In the same year Master James Fenton, Vicar of Tippermuir, endowed the same altar with another chaplaincy in honour of Our Lady of Consolation. Patrick Wallis, burgess, in 1513, gave his dwelling-house to provide a rental for the altar of the Annunciation. In addition to these there was an altar styled 'Our Lady's Grace,' or the Visitation, to which the chaplain, Sir Simon Young, added in 1514 an increased annual income.

In the town itself, near the bridge, stood a beautiful Lady Chapel, built, according to the pious custom of Catholic ages, to provide a little sanctuary where the wayfarer might find a quiet retreat in which to retire for a few moments from the din and bustle of a city's traffic, to breathe a prayer for a blessing upon the day's toil. It may have been that in this, as in similar chapels, the Holy Sacrifice was offered at an early hour for those about to start on a journey—another thoughtful provision of the ages of faith. Another chapel of the Blessed Virgin bore the name of Allareit, a corruption of Loreto. Like similar chapels in other localities of England and Scotland, it was a replica of the holy house of Nazareth.

Besides the above there were other sanctuaries of Mary. A noble Dominican church bore her name,

served by an order always devout to her. It was enriched at various times with endowments to promote her honour. The Carmelites—Mary's own Order—possessed a fine church in the city. Another was served by Carthusians, who are bound by their rule to recite daily the Office of the Blessed Virgin.¹

Edinburgh was another city which may be cited as an example of devotion to Mary. The records of the collegiate church of St Giles afford much information on the subject, and it will be interesting to note some of the benefactions made by the citizens towards that end.

In 1362 we find John de Allyncrum giving all his lands at Craigcrook to provide a chaplain at the altar of the Blessed Virgin. In the following year William More, Lord of Abercorn, endows a chaplaincy at the same altar with his lands of Ravelston. William Hare at about the same time makes a further donation of land for a like purpose. A long list of annual rentals coming to the altar in the year 1369 enumerates benefactions which though of small value at that date must have become of considerable worth in after time. In many instances it is stated 'the land belongs to the Blessed Mary.' In 1426 John de Alncrum, perhaps a descendant of the earlier donor of that name, bestows upon the altar half a mark every year. Alan Brown, burgess, in 1484, provides for the maintenance of a wax candle to burn continually on the 'hers' or stand before it. At about the same date James Townys, another burgess, endows the altar of Our Lady of Pity, situated near the north door of the choir, with a yearly revenue of 14 marks. Richard Hopper, in 1502, makes an annual bequest to the

¹ Lawson's *Book of Perth*, *passim*.

altar of Our Lady and St Roch, standing in the new aisle of St Thomas the Martyr. This Richard was the founder of the altar of the Visitation also. In 1513 Sir Alexander Lauder de Blyth, Provost of Edinburgh, bestows an annual rental of 55 marks upon the chaplaincy at the altar recently founded by him in the new aisle of the Virgin and St Gabriel. He also endowed a lamp in the same chapel to burn from St Michael's Day to the feast of the Purification every year. John Stury, 'for the welfare of his soul,' made a similar bequest of a perpetual candle before Our Lady's altar. In 1535 Sir Adam Ottirburn, provost, gives certain yearly rents to provide prayers for others and a dirge for himself after death. The burgh records relate that on January 22, 1556, 'the provost, baillies and counsale . . . thinks expedient . . . to repair Our Lady's altar and make an aisle thereof.' This restoration and improvement in St Giles, at the expense of the burgh, is a proof of the strong hold of religion upon the minds of men in authority on the very eve of the Reformation.

The Chamberlain's accounts of the reign of James III mention an act of devotion shown by the King in the above church :—

Item on Sanct Mongoy's da (i.e. St Mungo or Kentigern) in Edingh. to the King to offer in Sanct Geyllis Kirk	xviii. s.
Item, the same da to our Ladys' licht	ix. s.

A flight of steps, 'callit Our Lady's Steppis,' led up to the north-east corner of the church from the street. Their designation was owing to a statue of the Blessed Virgin which stood near them. The very bells of St Giles' Church spoke of devotion to Mary. The Lady bell was melted for cannon at the time of

the Reformation. Another, known as the Vesper bell, bore the inscription ;—

O Mater Dei : Memento Mei : Anno ; D : M : IIII.

The 'great bell' bore a representation of the Virgin and Child.

Edinburgh, like many other towns, had a Carmelite friary as well as a Dominican house, each, no doubt, possessing a Lady Chapel. Holyrood Abbey, too, must have had its Lady altar in common with other religious houses.¹

Those registers of cathedral and abbey churches which yet remain to us teem with examples of donations similar to those above quoted. Sir Duncan Sybald, for instance, in 1286, made an annual grant to the Cistercian abbey of Cupar of a stone of wax and four shillings to provide lights for the Mary Mass. James, Lord Hamilton, granting in 1459 ground for the buildings of Glasgow College, made it a condition that the scholars should for all future time sing daily an *Ave Maria*, 'on their bended knees,' for the welfare of his soul.

PILGRIMAGES

Scotland possessed many noted sanctuaries of the Blessed Virgin which were an attraction to devout pilgrims. One of the most popular of these was the Church of St Mary, Whitekirk, in the county of Haddington. In the twelfth century it became the property of the canons of Holyrood. From an early period this church became the resort of pilgrims on account of a much venerated statue of the Blessed Virgin which was kept there. Scottish historians relate that when Edward III of England invaded

¹ Cameron-Lees, *passim*.

Scotland, in 1356, a sailor of his fleet, having entered the church with some companions, was tempted by the sight of the costly jewels that adorned the image to try to pluck off a ring from the finger. The story goes that a crucifix, falling from a height, dashed out his brains as he was making the sacrilegious attempt.

Another place of pilgrimage of scarcely less note was the church known as 'the Lady Kirk of Kyle.' It stood in the parish of Monkton, in Ayrshire. Its renown may be gathered from the fact that James IV, a sovereign remarkable for his devotion to pilgrimages, never passed near this church without making an offering. A few ruins are all that now remains of this once famous sanctuary.

Newhaven, near Edinburgh, had a chapel dedicated to Our Lady and St James, which was a favourite resort of pilgrims. It is recorded of James IV that he made an offering of fourteen shillings in this 'Ladye Chapell.' Newhaven itself, which owed its origin to the prosperous trading times of that monarch, was originally called 'Our Lady's Port of Grace.'

In 1472 the people of Ayr founded in their town a house of Observantine Friars. In the church in after years was preserved a statue of the Blessed Virgin which became the object of much devotion. 'A statue of the Virgin Mary in this convent,' remarks a Protestant writer, 'is said to have wrought many miracles; fictions these, which no doubt gained the Grey Friars some credit and some profit.'¹ A Catholic will more readily accept the testimony of a Franciscan writer, Wadding, as to the fact, without subscribing to the sneering comment given above. James IV in his visits to Ayr used to bestow generous donations

¹ Chalmers, *Caledonia*, Ayr.

on the friars, and there is a record of £10 offered there by James V in 1530. The old parish church, as it is called, built after the Reformation, occupies the site of this popular sanctuary, not a vestige of which now remains. A spring of excellent water, still known as 'Friars' Well,' is all that recalls its memory.

Musselburgh, in the vicinity of Edinburgh, possessed a chapel renowned for the miracles wrought there and roused the spite and bigotry of writers of Protestant tendency. This was the Loreto Chapel, built about 1533, by a hermit named Thomas Douchtie. He had made a pilgrimage to the holy house and had brought back a small portion of the building which he enshrined in the little chapel which the donations of the faithful enabled him to raise. This became known as 'Allareit,' or 'Lariet,' both words being corruptions of 'Chapelle of Lauret,' or Loreto. Many relics were in course of time enshrined there, and devotion to Mary drew crowds of pilgrims to the place. A proof of the widespread attraction to this shrine is furnished by the visit made to it on foot by James V, 1536, when about to start for France to bring home a bride. This famous chapel fell a victim to the rage of the Reformers. It was cast down and its stones used to build the Tolbooth of the burgh.

Many other localities in Scotland, regarded as specially consecrated to the Blessed Virgin, were frequented by devout pilgrims. Among them were the holy wells bearing her name, at Speyside in Morayshire, Ordiquhill in Banffshire, and other places. Mention has already been made of the chief of these in a previous chapter.

SACRED IMAGES

It is interesting to note in this connection certain features of devotion to Mary which some persons in these days are inclined to stigmatise as foreign in character. Yet there is unmistakable evidence that they were common to Scottish churches before the Reformation. These were the clothing and crowning of statues, placing jewels upon them, burning votive candles before them, carrying them in procession and the like.

We may take Aberdeen Cathedral as an example. Mention has been made already of the various images of the Mother of God once honoured in that church ; we may, perhaps, be allowed to return to the subject for the sake of fuller description. The chief of these objects of piety was that known as Our Lady of Pity, which stood in the nave near an altar dedicated to her. The particular title, continually met with in Scotland as in England, has been considered by many authorities on the subject as equivalent to what we style in these days a *Pietà*. The statue at Aberdeen, however, represented the Mother bearing the Divine Infant in her arms ; for the crowns belonging to the figures are spoken of in an inventory as those of ' the Blessed Virgin and her little son, Jesus.'

The image in question was greatly venerated. Alexander Kyd, precentor of the cathedral, gave a yearly revenue to provide two candles to burn continually in its honour. Canon Clatt presented a candle-holder upon which the faithful might burn their tapers before it, Bishop Elphinstone provided for it a large candelabrum, which on feast days was filled with lighted candles. On great occasions the

statue was clothed in a rich mantle and shoes set with beryls. Votive hearts of silver hung near it, and other offerings spoke of graces received through prayers said there.

We have already noticed a smaller image of solid silver, as carried in procession on festivals by order of Bishop Elphinstone, who granted an indulgence to all who should take part, as well as a smaller image of precious metal, exposed in the sanctuary on great feasts.¹

At a later period an ancient wooden statue, which once stood in the chapel of the Brig of Dee, was removed to the cathedral by Bishop Dunbar, who died in 1532. After escaping destruction, several times attempted without success at the hands of Protestants, the statue was finally carried to the continent and eventually placed in the church of the Augustinians at Brussels, the Infanta Isabella having arrayed it in a magnificent robe and many of her own jewels. It was hidden away during the French Revolution, and afterwards placed in the church of Finisterre, Brussels. There it is still honoured under the title of 'Our Lady of Good Success.'

The statue in the cathedral of St Andrews, known as the 'Douglas Virgin' has already been noticed. The image of our Lady of Consolation stood near the altar of St John and St Nicholas in the nave of Glasgow Cathedral. Archbishop Blacader arranged that every evening after Compline the canons should assemble round it and there sing one of the anthems of the Blessed Virgin with the proper versicle and prayer. The same prelate founded a perpetual chaplaincy at the altar of Our Lady of Pity.

¹ *Regis. Episc. Aberd.*

Many bequests are to be found in mediæval documents for lights before statues and altars. Some have been already quoted. The burgh records of Dumfermline contain many references to 'Our Lady's lights' in the abbey church, which were provided for by revenues called 'Our Lady's licht silver.'

Near Haddington stood a Cistercian abbey for nuns. On one occasion, when the buildings were in extreme danger of being washed away by a flood in 1358, tradition says that a nun saved them from destruction by bringing to the edge of the water a statue of Our Lady.

These examples will be sufficient to show the nature of the honour paid to images of the Blessed Virgin in Catholic Scotland. But there is another way in which the representation of her figure was made use of, no less important in testifying to the love in which she was held. This was by employing it in official seals. That a cathedral, abbey, monastery or church should do this, especially when Our Lady happened to be the titular patron, is not remarkable; but it is striking to find civil corporations choosing the figure of the Blessed Virgin in such a case.¹ Among the burghs which did this were those of Dundee, Newhaven, Jedburgh, Irvine, Selkirk, Rutherglen, Crail, Cullen and Inverness. The latter town substituted, subsequently to 1439, the crucifix on the shield—the present arms of the burgh.²

POPULAR HYMNS AND SONGS

Striking evidence of the love of Catholics in Scotland for the Blessed Virgin is to be found in the traditional songs and hymns cherished by those who

¹ Waterton, *Pietas Mariana Brit.*

² Laing, *Ancient Scottish Seals.*

have always preserved the faith. In two splendid volumes entitled *Carmina Gadelica*, Mr Alexander Carmichael has embodied the labour of forty years spent in collecting orally more than two hundred specimens of the traditional hymns of the people of the Highlands and Western Isles. These *Carmina* are given in their original Gaelic, accompanied by a translation made by the compiler. All are deeply religious in character, consisting of invocations of the Blessed Trinity, Our Lord, His Mother and the saints, in all the circumstances of daily life. It is remarkable how constantly the thought of Mary runs through almost all, even when the context may not seem to suggest it. Whenever, for instance, Jesus is mentioned, He is nearly always styled 'Son of Mary Virgin.' In invocations of St Michael, St Columba, St Bridget or other saints Mary's name is continually introduced. It is as though the hymn wanted completeness if no mention were made of the 'Queen of all Saints,' as the Catholic Church styles her. Examples alone can give an adequate idea of the devotional beauty of these truly poetic songs, some of them dating from the eighth century.

A GENERAL SUPPLICATION

God, listen to my prayer,
 Bend to me Thine ear,
 Let my supplication and my prayers
 Ascend to Thee upwards;
 Come, Thou King of Glory,
 To protect me down,
 Thou King of life and mercy,
 With the aid of the Lamb,
 Thou Son of Mary Virgin,
 To protect me with power,
 Thou Son of the lovely Mary,
 Of purest, fairest beauty.¹

¹ Carmichael, vol. i, p. 13.

Another in which Our Lady is mentioned, though not directly invoked, is the following :—

Thou Son of the Mary of graces,
Of exceeding white purity of beauty,
Joy were it to me to be in the fields of Thy riches.
O Christ, my beloved,
O Christ of the Holy Blood,
By day and by night I praise Thee ¹

A more direct appeal for the help of Our Lady is to be found in that entitled :—

A PRAYER

O God,
In my deeds,
In my words,
In my wishes,
In my reason,
And in the fulfilling of my desires,
In my sleep,
In my dreams,
In my repose,
In my thoughts,
In my heart and soul always,
May the blessed Virgin Mary
And the promised Branch of Glory dwell.
Oh! in my heart and soul always
May the blessed Virgin Mary
And the fragrant Branch of Glory dwell. ²

There are invocations of Our Lady at the kindling of the fire :—

I will raise the hearth-fire
As Mary would.
The encirclement of Bride and of Mary
On the fire and on the floor,
And on the household all.

Who are those watching over my sleep?
The fair loving Mary and her Lamb. ³

¹ Carmichael, vol. i, p. 45.

² *Ibid*, p. 27.

³ *Ibid*, p. 235.

HONOURS PAID TO BLESSED VIRGIN MARY 251

The following are the prayers before fishing or the chase :—

O Mary, tender-fair, gentle-fair, loving-fair,
Avoid thou to me the silvery salmon dead on the salt sea.

.

O Mary, fragrant Mother of my King,
Crown thou me with the crown of thy peace;
Place thine own regal robe of gold around me,
And save me with the saving of Christ. ¹

Before travelling is used the following :—

The fair white Mary still uphold me,
The Shepherd Jesu be my shield. ²

Here are some beautiful herding blessings :—

Mary, thou Mother of Saints,
Bless our flocks and bearing kine;
Hate nor scath let not come near us,
Drive from us the ways of the wicked. ³

Another, after the invocation of the Blessed Trinity,
runs :—

May Mary the mild keep the sheep.

.

May the Son of Mary Virgin preserve our flocks.

Another is for singing when the sheep are being
driven to summer pastures :—

Shield, oh shield us, pure Virgin of nobleness.
Mary beloved! Mother of the White Lamb.

There are songs for reaping, grinding corn, milking
the cow and other household duties. Many of the
sleep consecrations or bed blessings are full of charm :—

I lie down to-night
With fair Mary and with her Son.

¹ *Ibid*, p. 319.

² P. 321.

³ *Ibid*, p. 187.

I am lying down to-night as beseems
In the fellowship of Christ, Son of the Virgin golden.

I am lying down to-night
With Mary mild and with her Son;
With the Mother of my King,
Who is shielding me from harm.

God and Mary and Michael
And the cross of the Nine Angels fair
Be shielding me.

O God! O Mary of glory!
O Jesu! Son of the Virgin fragrant,
Sain ye us from the pains everlasting
And from the fire fierce and murky.

With a version of the *Salve Regina* we bring these quotations to an end:—

Hail, Mary! Hail, Mary!
Queen of Grace, Mother of Mercy;
Hail, Mary, in manner surpassing,
Fount of our health, source of our joy.

To thee we, night and day,
Erring children of Adam and Eve,
Lift our voice in supplication,
In groans and grief and tears.¹

Such are some of the proofs, gleaned from various sources, of the love which the people of Scotland, like those of all Catholic nations, bore towards the Blessed Mother of their Redeemer. Doubtless with greater research many more might be gathered, though these will serve their purpose. The devotion of centuries, the honour intended by fervent donors to witness their love in after ages—though neglected and forgotten by faithless descendants—must surely bear fruit. It would seem, indeed, that the seed sown so

¹ Carmichael, pp. 81, 83, 89, 109, etc.

long ago is already showing blossom. Turn to the Catholic Directory for Scotland for proof. In the six dioceses which the country has possessed since the restoration of her hierarchy, as many as ninety-four churches at least will be found to rejoice in Mary as titular, either alone or in conjunction with another heavenly patron. Some of these, too, may be said to be the resuscitation of ancient Catholic dedications. Thus Aberdeen has still its cathedral of St Mary; Dundee, Stirling, Haddington, Inverness, Selkirk, Jedburgh, Irvine, Banff, Leith, Kelso, Paisley, New Abbey, Maybole, Hamilton, Lanark and Dumfries can all boast of a church or chapel of the Blessed Virgin to replace the shrines of old. Edinburgh has its St Mary's Cathedral, Glasgow its four churches under her patronage, Motherwell and Musselburgh their sanctuaries, Perth its beautiful shrine of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, dominating the town once belonging to Mary by a thousand titles. The old Chapel of the Garioch lives again in the title of the church at Fetternear; the ecclesiastical College of St Mary at Blairs has replaced the Catholic foundation of Bishop Elphinstone in Aberdeen; St Mary's at Fochabers, Speyside, revives the memories of Our Lady of Grace.

ENVOI

THE Church in the Reformation period, as Fr. Stevenson, the eminent Catholic historian remarks, 'underwent a great trial, and bent beneath it for a time, not permanently, for her days are eternal.' The reaction has already set in; Scotland can boast of an established hierarchy, ruling some five hundred thousand souls; religious orders have come back to the land; churches and monasteries are rising, and signs of vigorous life are evident. For such blessings we Catholics have to thank God. Yet we cannot look back at past ages without keen regret.

The records of cathedrals, collegiate establishments, monasteries and other religious houses give copious evidence of repeated bequests to provide Masses and other suffrages which the respective donors undoubtedly imagined would continue to be offered for their own souls and those of their relatives and friends as long as time should last.

Hundreds of faithful children of the Catholic Church laid them down to their last sleep comforted by the assurance that the prayers of those who were to come after them would never cease to plead for them before God.

How painful the sequel! Lands and documents—no matter how sacred their purpose—met with the same scant courtesy at the hands of so-called Reformers as the buildings to which they had been attached. The revenues of many a noble family

became greatly augmented by despoiling the dead of their just rights. Masses ceased ; prayers for the dead were silenced by the overthrow of the communities who had undertaken the sacred duties required of them. Generous benefactions were put to other and less noble uses, and the unhonoured dead were forgotten.

Catholics alone are able to estimate the gravity of the loss and the enormity of the crime which brought it about. In charity, then, let us who realise the injustice done to the noble dead, supplicate the mercy of God in behalf of the despoiled, and not refuse a pitying prayer for the spoilers—who perchance are in still greater need.

THE END

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